



¶ The first Booke  
OF THE HISTO-  
rie of the Discouerie and Con-

quest of the East Indias, enterprised by  
the Portingales, in their daungerous  
Nauigations, in the time of King  
*Don Iohn*, the second of that  
*name.*

*Which Historie containeth*

much varietie of matter, very profitable  
for all Nauigators, and not vnplea-  
saunt to the Readers.

Set foorth in the Por-

tingale language, by *Hernan*  
*Lopes de Castaneda.*

AND NOW TRANS-  
lated into English, by  
*N. L. Gentleman.*

¶ Imprinted at London, by  
*Thomas East.*

1582.

X



**To the right Worshipfull**

Sir Fraunces Drake, Knight, N, L, G, wish-  
eth all prosperitie.



Hey haue an auncient custome in Persia  
(the which is also obserued throughout  
all Asia) that none will enterprise to visit  
the king, noble man, or perticularly any  
other person of countenance, but he cari-  
eth with him some thing to present him  
with all worthy of thanks, the which is not onely done in  
token of great humilitie & obedience, but also of a zealous  
loue & friendly affection to their superiours & wel  
willers. So I ( Right worshipfull following this Persian  
president) hauing taken vpon me this simple translation  
out of the Portingale tongue, into our English language,  
am bold to present & dedicate the same vnto you as a sig-  
nification of my entire good will. The history conteineth  
the discouerie and Conquest of the East Indias, made by  
fundry worthy Captaines of the Portingales, in the time  
of king Don Manuel, & of the king Don Iohn the second  
of that name, with the discription, not onely of the coun-  
try, but also of euery harbor appertaining to euery place  
whervnto they came, & of the great resistance they found  
in the same, by reason wherof there was sundry great bat-  
tels many times fought, & likewise of the commodities &  
riches that euery of these places doth yeeld. And for that  
I know your worship, with great perill & daunger haue  
past those monstrous & bottomelesse seas, am therefore the  
more encouraged to desire & pray your worships patro-  
nage & defence therof, requesting you with all to pardon  
those imperfections, which I acknowledge to be very ma-

A.ii.

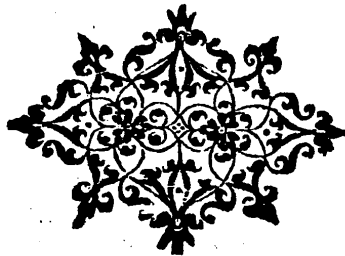
ny,

## *The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

ny, & so much the more by reason of my long & many  
yeares continuance in foreine countries. Howbeit I hope  
to haue truly obserued the literall sence & full effect of  
the history, as the Author setteth it forth, which if it may  
please you to peruse & accept in good part, I shalbe great-  
ly emboldened to proceede & publish also the second &  
third booke, which I am assured will neither be vnplea-  
sant nor vnprofitable to the readers. Thus alwaies wish-  
ing your good worship such prosperous continuance and  
like fortunate successe as God hath hetherto sent you in  
your daungerous trauaile & affayres, and as maye  
euerye waye content your owne heartes de-  
sire, doe euen so take my leaue. From  
London the fift of March,

1582.

¶ Your worships alwayes to commaund,  
Nicholas Lichfield, Gentleman.



## TO THE MOST HIGH *and mightie Prince our King*

and fouereigne, Don Iohn, the  
third of that name, king  
of Portingale, and of  
the Algarues,  
etc.

**I** hath seemed to me so straunge and  
waightie a thing (most high & mightie  
Prince our king and Souereigne)  
to undertake to write of the most  
worthy and valyaunt acts which the  
Portingales haue enterprised in the  
discouery and conquest of the Indias,  
that oftentimes I thought to giue  
ouer and relinquish the same, but as the attempt and doing  
thereof was principally taken in hande for the glozve of  
Almightye God, and to conuert those barbarous Nations  
to the Christian Faith, and the great honour of your high-  
nesse, wherein God gaue them (by his Omnipotent pow-  
er, fauour and mercye) such fortunate successe in the at-  
chieuing of those famous actes, without whose great pro-  
vidence it coulde neuer haue bene performed or brought  
to passe. And therefore doe hope and altogether comfort  
my selfe with the ayde and assistance of his diuine good-  
nesse in publishing the same by writing, yelding the  
glozie thereof onely to his celestially Godhead, and the  
praise

## The Prologue to the

praise terrestriall vnto your excellent highnesse, and to that famous and most happie king, Don Manuel your father. And although the same be well knowne and spread abroad ouer all the worlde, yet it cannot be so perfectly published vntlesse it be set forth in writing. For by this meanes the memorie thereof will indure for ever, because that the writings will alwayes shew the same to be present. Like as it doth continue those actes of the Grekes, and of the Romanes, the which long since is past so many yeares. And therefore they lyke wise men, perceiuing the same to be true, did traualle all that was possible to leaue the memorie thereof by writing, and noting that the worthinesse of the same did consist much in the eloquence of the writer, did therefore chosse such excellent learned men as those were that wrote the same, being thereto aided with much fauour and helpe, of others that were nothing inferior vnto theyr olyn, & possible were far greater, but for that the same did not remaine in writing, there is no memorie thereof, euen as those of the Assyrians, of the Medes, of the Persians, of the Affricans against the Romanes, of the Sweuians against Iulius Cæsar, of the spaniards against the Moyses in the recouerye of their Countrey of Spayne. Principallye of those inuincible and holye Kinges of Portingale your auncestours, the King Don Alonso Henriques, the King Don Sancho his sonne, the King Don Alonso, the which did gette the Kingdome of Portingale, and of the Algarues, in the which conquest there was wonderfull greates actes done, and that by force of Armes. Of all the which almost there hath remayned no memorie of that there shoulde haue bene, yea, those matters of the Indyas, the which was done but yesterdaie, there is no man that hath the same in memorie more then foure personnes, so that if they had dyed, all the same hadde ended with them, the which woulde haue bene imputed to theyr greates shame and rebuke.

And

## King of Portingale.

And I hauing a regarde, and partlye a remorse to see this losse, did therefore determine my selfe to note of those notable actes, the which your subiects hath done in the discouerie and Conquest of the Indias, of whose valiauntnesse there is none of theyr progenitours of any age or antiquitie that euer did excede them, no, nor yet were equall with them. For leauing a side the Conquest of the Semyrian of Cyro, Pirhus, and of other barbarous, all (the which was nothing in comparison of this) and take amongst them also that great Alexander the which was so feared and wondred at throughout all the worlde, since that the Indias is frequented by the Portingales: theyr doings are no more meruailed at, then a dead Lyon in respect of one aliue, for the Conquest of Alexander was all by lande, and against people that were smallie accustomed or trayned in the seates of warres, he alwayes going in his roial person, but this of the Indias was done by sea, and that by your Capitaines, being vpon the same a whole yeare, and eight monethes, and at the least sixe monethes, not along or nere any coast, but by the bottomelesse and great Ocean Sea, and departing from the lymites of the Decident, and bearing sayle alwayes towarde the Cape Delas Playas, or such lyke, without discovering or seeing any other thing, but onely the heauens and water, going round about all the Spheare, a matter neuer before attempted by anye mortall man, nor yet almost imagined by anye, to put the same in practise, and they hauing past greates hunger, thirst and other infirmityes, besides that euerye day with those furious stormes and raines, in daunger a thousand times of their liues. And as I say, they hauing past those feares and daungerous troubles by sea, yet after theyr arriual into the Indias, found themselves in great and cruell battells, (not with men that did fight onely with their Bowes, Arrowes, and Speares,) as they didde in Alexanders time, but with such as were stout & of a haughty stomacke, and with men that were experienced in the wars,

A.ii.

of



## *The Prologue to the*

of the which kinde of people there is not onely in the Indias, but as farre as we can vnderstand, there is of the like in Asia, and besides they accustomed weapons (the which are many and good) yet they haue Ordnance, Calceuers, and many fire-wookes more plentie then the Portugales had, so that the power of these men was alwaies so greate, that the force of king Poro with whome Alexander did fight, was not comparable, yet notwithstanding the Portugales did giue them continually the ouerthrow, although they strength was but small, yet they neuer left the warres, as Alexander did. And leauing off to declare of the Grekes and of theyr actes, and now to come to the Romanes; who with theyr huge armye, and with theyr greate flete, the which seemed to couer the whole Sea, thought to conquest the whole worlde, yet they neuer durst aduenture by Sea further then the redde Sea, neyther yet the greatest of their famous victories, did or was euer lyke vnto the least of those battayles that was done by our men in the Indyas, in the which it is so well knowne, most inuincible Prince, the greate prosperitie of the king your father and you, so that without mouing of your selfe out of your pallaice, was discovered and conquered by your Captaines, the which neuer Princes could by themselves conquere or discover, so that there was neuer Conquest of the Barbarous, nor of the Grecians, nor of the Latynists, the which was of lyke difficulty as this hath bene, neyther yet Kinges nor Captaines, of none of all these Nations, was so equall in force nor yet in valyaunttelle as those of your father, and of yours, the which is manifestly declared by the discourse of the historye following.

And touching theyr greate actes which they dydde worthele fulfill and bring to passe, we must verely beleue that it was Gods good will and pleasure, that those Barbarous, being discovered with theyr vaine Idolls, and with the false sect of Mahomet, shoulde ioyne them

## *King of Portingale.*

themselves with the Catholike faith, and to be as it were in one Cozall, and vnder one Pastour or Shepheard, as at this present the great multitude that hereby are increased to the Christian Religion, is a manifest testimonie and witness thereof. After which great exploytes, your Highnes gaue commandement that the Christian doctrine of the Brotherhod of the company of Iesus should be there instructed & taught them, of the which your Highnes hath had so speciall a care like a most godlye and Christian Prince, that not onely you were the first that commaunded the same to be brought from Rome, for that they might be the better instructed in all their Kingdomes, but also doeth maintaine vpon your owne charges in this holy companye the multitudes that doeth daylye submit themselves to the same. As we doe see in the sumptuous Colledge of Coimbra, where to ennoble and augment the honoz of your Kingdomes, you haue erected and founded an Vniuersitie: where, with the charges that is daylye done there, and with your countenance together, it is hoped, that the same may be accounted amongst the flourishing Vniuersities of all Europe: whereas there is maintained also vpon your charges manye Colledges of the order of poore begging friers, and others of like profession, for like as the reformation that was there made was profitable to them all: so he commaunded, that there should be many Diuines for to declare the Euangelicall law, which your Highnes is not onely at this charges with religious men, but also with tempozall men, for as there is many of your subiects that doth defend y<sup>e</sup> state Republique or Common welth, and doth enlarge the same with their armour, so ther are others that doth beautifie the same with learning. These heroycall vertues of your Highnes being so well knowne vnto me, so much as this Woke, besides others that I haue made, hath some tast or kindred of learning, doth incourage me the more to set them forth, for that as I say, there may remaine a perpetuall memozye of so notable actes as so many Gentlemen and Knights of

## *The Prologue to the*

the Portingales your subiects hath done, the which hath benestred me very much, my being in the Indias, where I traualled with my Father, who by your Highnes commaundement was sent thether to serue as a Judge. And for that I spent all my youth in learning, and gaue my selfe greatly in reading of auncient Histories, and hauing seene and read a great part thereof, did then immediately procure to knowe and with all diligence did my best indeauour to vnderstand what had bene done in the Discouerie of the Indias, and in the Conquest of the same, by the Portingales, with the intent as aforesayde, which was to make the same knowen, and common to all men: by meanes whereof, and through the instructions of sundry Gentlemen and Captaines, many things came to my knowledge, by such persons as were then and there present, as well in the counsaile for the prouision for that which should be done, as also in the execution thereof, and otherwise by many letters and pamphlets, the which were written by men of great credite, and lykewise examined as sufficient witnesses for better credite of the worke. Moreover, I did not onely vse this diligence in the Indias, but after my coming to Portingale didde the lyke. For as those matters the which I meant to write of, were many and of sundry orders, so it was necessarye to enforme my selfe of the same by manye: and beside that those that gaue me this instructions wer sworn, yet I was licensed to present them as witnesses. There were of them that I sought in the most part of Portingale: for what with the great trauell of my person, and expences of my goodes, for that they were seperated in sundry parts, and in this I haue spent the most part of my lyfe, so much as this was my onely recreation, hauing ioyned together all these informations, since my being in the Vniuersitie of Coimbro, in your Highnes seruice, at such time as I found my selfe not occupied with the executing of my office, with great trouble (not onely of the body, but also of the spirite) made an end of this Booke with others, the which I doe humbly offer vnto

vnto your Highnes, whome God (after manye and most fortunate yeares, remayning in your place the Prince) take and receiue you from the seruice of the earth, vnto the ioyes of heauen,

Your Highnes most humble Orator,  
Hernan Lopes de Castaneda,





## *How the King Don Ioan the second*

of that name, did send to seeke out by sea and by land the East India, and of the newes that was brought him of the same. Cap. 1.



**W**HEN King Don Ioan the second of that name, & of the Kings of Portingale, the thirtieth, perceiuing that all the Spices, Drugs, Stones, and other riches, which came to Venice, were brought out of a certaine Province of the East parte: And as he was a Personage of an

haucie stomacke and valtaunt minde, so was he desirous to enlarge his Kingdome, and increase the Chyistian faith, and therefore he determined to discover by Sea, the Country, from whence so great plentie of riches came, that thereby his Subiects might be enriched, and his Kingdome of Portingale enjoy all such commodities as came from thence to Venice. Moreover, to discover the same Countrey, he was the rather animated and enclined, for that he was given to vnderstand, that in the East India, were Chyistians, which were gouerned by a King of great power called Praxbiter

B.

Ioan,

## The Conquest

## of the East India.

2

The order  
of Christ  
in Portin-  
gale giue  
vnto No-  
ble men  
& Gentle-  
men & to  
some that  
are made  
knights.

Ioan, with whom Don Ioan thought good to haue acquaint-  
taunce, and to know him by his Ambassadors, and the ra-  
ther for that he was reported to be a Christian Prince :  
And therefore consulting with the Cosmographers of that  
time, he gaue them in charge to procede and goe forwarde  
by example of others, which had sayled along the Coast of  
Guynee, which Coast was before that time discovered by  
commaundement of the Prince his Uncle, Master of  
the Order of Christ, who had sent for that purpose, one Bar-  
tholomee Dias, one of the Officers of his Storehouse in  
Lisborne, who did discover that great & monstrous Cape,  
not known of our Ancestours, which is now called the  
Cape of Buena esperansa: And finding there matter of  
great terrour and daungers, he passed beyond the same, one  
hundred and fortie leagues, where, comming to a Riuer,  
which he named Rio del infante, from thence he returned  
to Portingale. In this voyage, he gaue to the Ports, Ver-  
bores, and Riuers, where he toke in fresh water, they  
names, which at this present they doe retaine. Likewise,  
he erected there certaine markes with Crosses, and with the  
roiall Armes of Portingale, and the last that he erected, was  
in a Roocke, the which they named, El pennol de la crus,  
which standeth fiftene leagues on this side the foresayde  
Riuer. And from thence he returned without hearing any  
newes, or yet hauing any further intelligence of that India,  
by reason all the Inhabitaunts along those Coasts be al-  
most a sauage and a wilde kinde of people, and of colour  
blacke.

This voyage and intelligence, being intimated and  
reuealed to the King Don Ioan, he forthwith minded to  
couer that India by land, albeit before that time he had  
patched and sent for the same discoverie intended  
of the order of Saint Fraunces, called Fryer  
Lixbona, by land, in the company of a tempo-  
two persons, for want of the Arabian tongue, which  
trauaile those parts, so that they went well  
Ierusalem, from whence without pro-  
cause of  
that

that iourney, they returned into Portingale.

The King neuerthelesse continuing to prosecute to  
effect his determination for discoverie of that India by  
lande, did thereupon chose two of his owne seruantes,  
men of good knowledge, and diligent in whatsoeuer they  
were to be employed; the one called Pedro de Coullian,  
borne in the saide Village, and the other called Alonso de  
payua, borne in the Towne of Castil Blanco, which did  
verge well vnderstande the language of Arabia, to whome  
he tolde how that he had made choyce of them, as of per-  
sons apt to execute his presence, which was to disco-  
uer by lande as well the Countrey of Presbiter Ioan,  
as also that, from whence the Drugges and Spices  
come to Venice: Giuing them in charge, and that ear-  
nestly to make diligent enquire; and gather certaine  
knowledge whether that from the Cape of Buena Espe-  
ransa forwarde there were anye pauiation to the East  
India, and that they shoulde set downe all thinges  
they founde necessarye to be knowen, or that they  
couide by anye possible meane learne or gather of the  
same for certaintye: Commaunding also a Sea Carde  
to be giuen them, which was taken out of a Mappe  
of the whole worlde, by a Maister of Arte, called  
Calsadilla, Bishoppe of Vyscu, who was a good Astro-  
nomer.

Moreouer, he gaue them a Letter of credits, where-  
by they might be succoured and protected from, and in,  
daungers of death, and in cases of necessitie and want  
of money, in whatsoeuer Kingdomes and Countreyes  
they hadde shoulde be to trauaile. And for theyr char-  
ges, he commaunded to giue them foure hundred  
Crownes out of the Chest of the Orcherd of Almeyn:  
Of which summe, they toke as much as they deemed would  
suffice for theyr expence, untill they came to Valencia in  
Aragon, putting the residue in the Baucke of Bartelme  
Florentine to be deliuered them there: and so he gaue them  
the blessing of God and his, in the presence of the King

Bai,

Don

Another  
iourney by  
lande at-  
tempted.

Don Manuel, who at that time was Duke of Vesa.

After this they departed from the Village of Santaren the seauenth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand foure hundred foure scoze and seauen, and came to Naples vpon Saint Johns daye the same yeare, from whence they were set forward on their way, by Cosmo de Medicis sonnes, and so went they from thence to the Rhoodes, of which Religion, wer then none other but Portingales. And from the Rhoodes they went to Alexandria, from thence to the Cayro, as Merchants, and from thence in the companie of certaine Moores of Feez, and Tremencen, they came to Toro, which is a place that hath his harbour in the Straights of the red Sea in the Coast of Arabia, at the fote of the Mountaine Sinay, where they vnderstood manie matters of the Indies, and of the trade those places had out of the Straights to Calicut: and thereupon they trauailed to another place in the selfe same Straights of the Redde Sea, ouer the Coast of Aethiopia, from whence they went to Edin: And for that it was out of the waye to the Indies, they parted companie and senered themselves: Alonso de Payua remained to go ouer by land to the Emperour of Aethiopia, which is he, whom we before hane named vpon errorr Presbiter Ioan: for the certaintie is, this is he of whom Marco Paulo maketh mention in his booke, who gouerneth all the Indies, and whose Countrey ioyneth vnto the great Cam of Catayo, where in a battaile betwene them fought, the saide Prestre Ioan was vanquished and dyed. And so thenceforth finally ended his Kingdome, so that in these dayes, there is in trueth none of that name or race that raigneth or gouerneth. It is to be vnderstande, that Alonso de payua did verely beleue, that this Emperour of Aethiopia, was this supposed Presbiter Ioan, by reason he was informed and had intelligence that the same Emperour was a Christian, and the People of his Kingdome were also Christians, as hereafter I shall declare, when occasion shall serue.

Presbiter  
Ioan by  
errorr, is  
the verye  
Emperour  
of Aethi-  
opia.

For which cause, I am in opinion, v Alonso did depart towards his Court, taking order and determining with Pedro de Couillian, that at a time appointed they shuld meet in the great Cayro: This conference and determination betwene them so had and accorded vpon, Pedro de Couillian went towards the Indies in a shippe of the Moores of Cananor, and being come to the Indies, he went to the towne of Calicut, and to the Ilands of Goa, where he gathered perfect information & intelligence of the spices which they haue in the Indies, and of the commodities which come from other places, and of the lyke sorte of Townes which were ther in the Indies, of all which he set downe the names in the Card he carried with him, albeit ill written. And after he had seene those places, he went to Sofala, where he gathered knowledge of the great Iland of San Laurenso, which the Moores doe call La ysla de la Luna: And seeing the people at Sofala, to be blacke as those of Guynce are, he thereupon surmised that all that coast was subdued, and that they might goe by Sea to the Indies, and therefore returning thence, he went to Ormus, and so to Cayro, where he vnderstande that Alonso de Payua was dead: And being desirous to returne to Portingale, by chaunce he mette with two Iewes of Spaine, the one called Raby Abraham, borne in Vesa, the other Ioseph, borne in Lamego: These after the departure of Pedro Couillian and Alonso de Payua, from Portingale, tolde the King Don Ioan, that they had bene in the Cayro, & vnderstande there much newes of Ormus, and of theyr tract had knith and into the Indies: Whereupon the King sent letters by Raby Abraham to Pedro Couillian, and to Alonso de Payua, declaring that his pleasure was, they shoulde retourne in the companie of those Iewes, if they had seene all those thinges, whereof he gaue them charge and commaundement, at their departure: if not, that then they shoulde sende by those Iewes a declaration, and true reporte what they had seene, and had intelligence of: And moreover that they shoulde procure to attaine to the sight

of Presbiter Ioan, and also shewe and informe what they coulde concerning Ormusc to Raby Abraham soz that hee had sworne by his lawe neuer to retourne to Portingale, vntlesse hee first saue the same: Vppon receipte of which letters and message, Pedro de Couillan his purpose of retourning to Portingale was then stayed: And therefore he forthwith dispatched Ioseph with letters to the King, his Loyde and Maister, wherein hee related and fully declared in euery respect what hee had sene in the Indias, and of Solala: and likewise hee sent the Carde in which all the Tolones names were put downe, that hee had sene: In forming also the King Don Ioan, that the Emperour of Aethiopia is hee who is supposed to bee y Presbiter Ioan: But I am of opinion, that in Portingale remaineth this name of Emperour of Aethiopia, soz that in his kingdome hee is not called by the name of prestre Ioan, as I will hereafter declare: When Ioseph was departed, Pedro de Couillan, with Raby Abraham, went towards Ormusc, and thence to the straights of the red sea, and hauing shewed to the same Raby those places and scituation therof, Pedro Couillan then sent him to Portingale, with letters to the king, importing what hee shewed him, and how that hee himselfe was determined to make his boyage to Presbiter Ioan, and after this pursuing that his intent accordinglye, he came to the presence of y Emperour, that then ther reigned and gouerned, whose name was Alexander, of whome hee was verye well receiued, and when hee had presented vnto him the letters of the king Don Ioan, he accepted the same verye ioyfully, in that they came from a Chyistian Prince so farre distant from his Countrie: Vnto what hee gaue to the same little credite, and yet neuerthelesse hee gaue vnto Pedro de Couillan, great honour and gifts: and when hee was in a readyesse to departe thence, and expected licence soz the same, which hee had requested, and should haue bene graunted him, the Emperour then deceased: after whome succeeded in the Empire another named Nahu, hee coulde not by him bee lycensed to depart thence, neither yet

The king of Portingales letters delivered to the Emperour of Aethiopia

yet of his some David, who was Emperour also, and succeeded Nahu: so that Pedro de Couillan, remayned in that Countrie, and neuer after returned into Portingale, neyther yet the King Don Ioan euer hearde oz vnderstood moze of him, and therefore supposed him to bee dead. One ly there remaineth the information of his trauailes, which hee had sette downe and witten in the letters which the Iewes carryed: After this came to Lishborne a frier out of the Countrie of Presbiter Ioan, to whome the king shewed great curtesie, and vpon whose repozte, and great relation made of that countrie, the king then determined to proceede in, and follow the discovering of the Indias by Sea, and therefore hee commaunded two little Shippes to bee made, committing the charge of that preparation, and appointing soz ouersier oz surueiour of the Timber then cut soz that purpose, one Ioan de Braganca his seruauant borne in the woodes, in a village called Daluor, and was brought to Lishborne to the house of the Myna, in the yeare of our Lord a thousande foure hundred nintie five, the five and twentie daye of October in the same yeare: and afterward did succede in that kingdome, the most high king of glorious memozye Don Manuel, by whome also it appeared that he was there elected by diuine prouidence soz discovery of those Countries and Prouinces, whereby the Chyistian faith is so greatly increased and enlarged, & the royall house of Portingale so mightely honoured, and the subiectes of the same so plenteously enriched.

¶ How King Don Manuel the first of that name, prepared after the decease of King Don Ioan, to discover the Indias by one Vasco de la Gama, and by other Captaines, and howe they departed from Lishborne.

Chap. 2.

The





**T**he King Don Ioan being dead, Don Manuel then succeeded him, in whome appeared a higher stomacke, and more valyauntnesse of minde (for attaining of things impregnable & making triall, and executing matters that passed common capacitie of man, and aboue the reach of naturall knowledge) then was in Alexander the greafe. Don Manuel now come to the crowne, and earnestly minded & bent to prosecute that which his predecessor Don Ioan had begun, for discovering of the India, and being therein greatly furthered by such matter, order, and intelligence, as he found, and were left by the late king for navigation to those farre countries: he then commaunded that Fernan Lorenzo, Treasurer of the house of the Myra, should cause to be made and prepared of the timber which was bought in king Johns time, two shippes, wherevnto after they were finished, he gaue the names, to the one, the Angel Gabriel, being of an hundred and twentie hundred tunne: and to the other Saint Raphael, a shippe of one hundred tunne. And to goe in the companie of these ships, the king then bought of a Pilot that was borne in Lagos, called Berrio, a Caruell of fiftie tunne, which had and bare the selfe name of the Pilot: Moreover he bought a ship of two hundred tunne, of one Ayres Correa. These shippes thus made readie and prepared, and the king then being in Monte mayor the new, with his first wife the Quene, Dona Izabel, in the yere a thousand foure hundredeth nintie seven, he then gaue the chiefe Captaine shippe of this voyage vnto the Indias to Vasco de la Gama his seruauant, who also before was seruauant to Don Ioan, & borne in the towne of Synis, a harbour towne in the fields of Dorricke. The same was a man experimented in matters of the Sea, and of navigation, wherein he had done to this kingdome great seruice. And so much as he was a man of greafe courage and valure, and therefore very apt and likely to attaine and atchieue the end, & was by the king desired, the king then accordingly in presene of many noble personages, to his great praise,

praise, and no lesse encouragement, commaunded him, when he gaue him the charge of that iourney, earnestly also requiring him, to aunswere and satisfie the expectation and credit he had conceiued of him and reposed in him, which if he did, he would then very largely reward that his indeauour, and trauell, and so liberally deale towarde him, as he should finde himselfe satisfied for that his diligence and seruice employed: and for some proue of those princely and louing speaches, he then beganne to make performauce of parte thereof, at that verie instant, giuing him an Encomenda, with money to put himselfe in a readinesse for that voyage: And for to goe with him, the king also dispatched one Paulo de la Gama, brother to the Captaine Generall, and one Nicholas Coello, both of them the kings seruants, and men mee and apt for whatsoever matter of enterprise or cause of valiauntnesse: Moreover he appointed one Bartholome Dias, to goe with them in a Caruell to the Myra: And for that in the ships of warre, sufficient victuals for the people in the same, could not be carried further then to a place called Saint Blaze, where they must of course take in fresh water, the king gaue commaundement that the shippe of Ayres Correa should goe loaden with victuals vnto that place in the companie of the flact, and there to take out the same, and then to burne the said ship. The Captaine Generall thus informed, and dispatched, departed with the other Captaines from the Kings court, towarde Lisbonne, where the ships being in a readinesse, he imbarked his companie, being one hundred fortie and eight persons, in Belen, one league from Lisbonne, vpon the Saturday being the eight day of Iulye, in the yere of our Lorde God, a thousand foure hundred nintie and seauen. At which imbarking all the religious men of our Ladie Church in Belen, which is a Monestarie of Saint Hierome, went in procession bare footed, and in their cowles with ware Candles in their hands praieing, and the most part of the people of Lisbonne with them, al of them weeping and pitieng those that so imbarked themselves, supposing they should all die in that

The number of persons in this voyage.

so aduenturous and dangerous voiage, as in deede the presumption and common opinion thereof was greates, and no lesse to be aduindged of The Generall and other his Captaines with their people so imbarked, and by the multitude and companie then present, commended to God and good fortune, they forthwith made saile and departed: The Captaine Generall went in the Ship called Saint Gabriel, hauing Pilot for y same, one Pedro de Alanquer, which was Pilot with Bartholome Dyas, when he went to discover y riuer called El ryo del ynfante: The brother of the Captaine generall, went in the ship called S. Raphael: Nicholas Coelho went in the Caruell Berrio, & one Gonsalo Gomes, seruauant to the Captaine generall, went for Captaine of the ship that carried their victuals. Thus being set forward and vnder saile, the Captaine generall commaunded, that if by any happe whatsoeuer, they should bee seuered and lose each other, they shuld euery one make, and keepe, their route or course to Cabo Verde, where they would ioyne themselves together againe. And so following their voiage, they came within eight dayes after to the sight of the Ilandes of the Canaries, from whence going ouer against the Riuer called Ryo de Oro, the night did growe so darke, and such great tempest and storme rose as they lost each other, and therefore they returned their course towardes Cabo Verde, and Paulo de la Gama, Nicholas Coelho, Bartholome Dyas, and Gonsalo Gomes, hauing met, and after eight dayes sailing together, they came to sight of their Captaine Generall, vpon the wednesday in the Euening, and saluting him with many shot of ordinaunce, and with sound of Trumpets, they spake vnto him, each of them heartely reioysing, and thanking God for their safe meeting, and good fortune in this their first vint of daunger and perill: The next day being the twentieth day of Iuly, the Captaine generall with all his flect, attained vnto the Ilands of Sancty Ago: wher coming to anker in y play de Santa Maria, they remained there seuen dayes, taking in such water as they had need of, & repairing the yards of their ships and other

harmes

harmes they had receiued in the storme past. Tuesday being the third day of August, the Captaine Generall departed thence, following his course to the East, but first before his departure he toke his leaue of Bartholome Dyas, who returned into Portingale: And going towardes the Cape of Buena Esperansa, with all the ships of his companie, he entered the goulfe into the Sea, and from thence sailed all August, September, and October, in which time they suffered many and great tempests, or rather torments of outrageous windes and raine, so that they expected nothing but present death, which still was represented before them by view of the manifold daungers and perills, they presently then saue, and whereof they were forced to abide the eventure: Being thus perplexed, God of his diuine goodnesse recomforted them, for vpon the saturday, being the fourth day of November at nine of the clocke in the fore none, they sawe land, whereat they greatly reioysed, and all the Captaines being together, they then saluted the Generall, all of them apparelled in their best araic, and hauing decked and garnished their shippes with flagges accordingly, they drew nere the land as the generall had commaunded, who was desirous to haue landed: Howbeit for that they did not know the land, he commaunded them to cast about a sea boord, and so they passed along by the same vntill tuesday following, at what time they came to perfect viewe and sight of the land, perceiuing the same to lye lowe, and that there was a great bay, which as it was a conuenient place for the ships, so he commanded them to fall to an anker there, of purpose to take in water: And afterward they named it the Iland of Sancta Haelena. The people of the countrie within the said Iland, as our men afterward found the same: bee litle men, ill fauoured in the face, and of colour blacke: and when they did speake, it was in such manner as though they did alwayes sigh, they apparell is of beastes skinner made after the manner of the french Cloakes, they trusse vp and hide they members in certaine Cases made of woads verie well wrought.

Bartholome Dyas returneth into Portingale

Description of the people & manners of Saint Helens Iland.

Ell.

They



They haue for armes or weapons certaine staves of an  
Oke tree bathed or toasted with fire, at the endes whereof  
are hornes of beasts, somewhat burnt or hardened with fire,  
also seruing them for swords, and wherewith they do hurt  
their enimie. These people doe mainteine themselves with  
rootes of heabes, with Sea Moultes, and Whale fish, of  
which the countrie there hath great plentie, and likewise of  
sea crolwes, and sea mewes: Also they doe eate of beastes,  
which they call Gazelas, and of doves, and other beastes and  
birds which they haue in the land: They keepe also dogs as  
those ben of Portingale, barking after the same manner: The  
Generall thus lying at Anker, commaunded to goe rounde  
about the Ilande, to see if there were anie riuer of swete  
water, and finding none, he then sent Nicholas Coello in  
his boate along the coast to seeke out water, which he found  
fowre leagues of from thence, the which he named Sancty  
Ago, from whence the whole Flote provided themselves of  
fresh water. The next day the Generall and the other Cap-  
taines, and some of their companie went a shore, intending  
to see and viedo what manner of people they were, that in-  
habited that countrie or land, and whether they coule in-  
forme him how farre from thence the Cape of Buena Es-  
peransa was, which he knew not, neither was the head or  
chiefe Pilot of that voyage of any certieintie which it was,  
for that in the voyage, wherein hee went before with Bar-  
tholome Dyas, he departed in the morning from the Cape  
into the Sea, and past the same in the night, with a fore-  
winde, and at his first going, came not nere the Shore:  
By reason wherof he did not know the land, notwithstanding,  
hee coniectured and daemed it not above thirtie leagues  
distant from thence at the uttermost: The Generall being  
disimbarkeed and came to land, and walking there he over-  
toke a man, one of the inhabitants of the same, who was  
going to gather homny at the foote of a bush, where the Bees  
made the same without anie hie, with this man, y general  
returned vnto his ship, right well contented, thinking he had  
gotten by him an interpreter, but it happened not so, for ther  
was

was not any of that company could vnderstand him: The  
Generall commaunded to giue him meate, and he did both  
eate and drinke of all that was giuen him, and when they  
saw he vnderstood none of their languages, nor any of them  
had any vnderstanding of his, he was the next daye set vpon  
the shore well apparelled, from whence he went as it  
appeared, amongst others his countrey men, for that y next  
day then following, (vpon shew of himselfe to them) there  
came about the number of fiftene of his Countrey men,  
where our ships were: At sight of which the Captaine ge-  
nerall went to lande, carrieng with him Spice, Golde, and  
Pearle, to make triall, whether those people had any know-  
ledge of the same, or of any part thereof: but by the litle  
estimation they seemed to make of those things, it appeared  
they had no knowledge of the same. Then they gaue them  
bells, litle rings of tinne, and counters, and of these things  
they wer very glad, and from thence forward vnto the next  
Saturday following, very many of them repayed to our  
Flote, and those people so returning to their Townes, one  
of our men desirous to see the same, and to vierre the order  
and manner of their liues, craued then licence of the Gene-  
rall to goe with them, whose petition, albeit he was verie  
unwilling to condescend vnto, yet vanquished by importu-  
nitie, he graunted the same. Fernan Veloso (for so was his  
name that was licensed) then going in their company, they  
tooke a Sea Moulse, which they rosted at the foote of a hill,  
and supped altogether: after which it then appeared, that  
they of that Countrey had armed themselves, and prac-  
tised treason against our men: for so sone as they had sup-  
ped, they caused Fernan Veloso, to returne to our Flote a-  
gaine, which was hard by, and when he was departed from  
them, they followed and came after him a litle and a litle,  
the manner whereof, Fernan espieng & fearing, he there-  
fore hastened to the water side, and hailed to our ships: The  
Generall then being at supper, and hearing that call, and lo-  
king out to landward, sawe those sauage people coming  
after him, and presently imagined they meant him harme,  
and

Treason  
by these  
men ima-  
gined a-  
gainst  
ours.

and therefore forthwith he commaunded the whole flate to put themselves in battaile array, and he himselfe with certaine others, went to landward without any weapons, deeming verely that thise blacke men meant him no harme, nor would offer any force: and indeede when they sawe our boates comming to the shoreward, they began to runne away, with a great clamour and outcrie, and so did manie others also which lay secretly hidden amongst certaine bushes there, which policie they vled to traine our men the rather to lande, for when ours were disembarked and landed, they then returned and furiously set vpon them, shooting their darts, and vsing their other weapons in such sort, as they enforced our men to retire to their boates and imbarke themselves, and that in hast, taking with them Fernan Veloso, which being done, the Negroes returned to their towne, hauing hurt the Captaine generall & thre others, who afterward, remaining in that road foure dayes, coulde not see any more of those people, and therefore could not vse any reuenge, for the damage they had done them.

¶ How the Captaine generall doubled the Cape of Buena esperansa, and what hapned vntill they passed the Riuer called El Rio del Infante. Cap. 3.



**H**is flate hauing taken in fresh water and flesh which they needed, the Generall and the rest then departed thence vpon the Thursday being the sixteenth daye of Nouember, in the forenoon of the same daye, making their waye into the Sea, with a South South west winde, and vpon the Saturdaye then next following in the euening, he came within sight of the Cape of Buena esperansa, and for that the winde was contrarye, as being then Southwest, and the Cape lyeng Northeast, he made his retourne into the Sea ward, whillett

whillett the daye did indure, and when the night came, he cast about towards the shore, and so in that order he sayled vntill the Wednesday following, which was the twentieth day of Nouember in which time he doubled the Cape: And going along the Coast with a fore winde, he passed with great pleasure of sundry pastimes, and in sounding of the trumpets in all their ships, chiefly hauing their whole confidence in God, by whose diuine furtherance, they hoped to finde out, and attaine to that which they sought for: So passing in this sort along that Coast, they sawe vpon the land great store of Castell, whereof some were large, some small, but all of them were growen and fat: Howbeit they appeared to them no Townes within this lande, by reason that along those Coastes there are none scituated: but further within the same, there be Townes and Villages inhabited, the houses whereof are all of earth couered with strawe. The people are of colour somewhat blacke, and be apparelled as those of the Countrey of Sancta Helena, speaking the selfe same language, and vsing the selfe same sorte of darts, with some other weapons also for their defence, and annoyauce of their enimie. This Countrey is verie pleasant with Trees and Waters, and ioyning to this Cape on the South side, there is a great Harbour, which reacheth into the Lande six leagues, and at the entering it containeth well as much more. The Cape of Buena esperansa being thus doubled, the Captaine Generall forthwith vpon the Sundaye after, which was Saint Katherins day, came to the Watering of Saynt Blaze, which is thre score leagues beyonde the Cape, being a verie great Baye, and passing good for all Windes, except onely the North winde. The people here are somewhat blacke of colour, they couer themselves with skines, they fight with Dartes of wode tolled or hardened in the fire, and vse for Swords, Hornes and Boncs of Beastes, and also they vse Stones to defende themselves agaynst their Enimies. In this Lande be manie Elephautes and great, also Dren manie both large of stature,

The watering of S. Blaze

Sea vvolfes  
most firee  
& terrible  
beasts

stature, and very fat, whereof some haue no hoznes: and  
upon the fattest and fairest of the same, the people do vse to  
ride, sadling them with pannells stuffed with the strawe of  
Kye, as the manner is in Spayne, and vpon the same they  
put a certaine frame of vvoodes, and so vse it as a saddle to  
ride vppon, putting through the noses of such of them as  
they will sell, a peece of vvode, of that kinde whereof they  
make their arrowes. In this Harbour there Crossebow shot  
from the shore, within the Sea, lieth a Rocke, in the which  
there be many Sea Moultes, which are as large in bignes  
as great Beares, they be terrible, hauing great and long  
teeth, also so wilde and fierce, that they do forcible set vpon  
men: their skinned be so hard that no speare can poarce the  
same, albeit it be forced vpon it with great strength and va-  
lure: they are like vnto Lions, and their little ones crye  
like yong Goates, there be so many of them in y<sup>e</sup> Rocke,  
that when our men went thither of pleasure one day, they  
saw of them at that instant, the number of thre thousand  
little and great. In this Rocke also be many Stares, which  
are as great as Duckes, but they doe not flye, by reason  
they haue no feathers in their wings, and they braye lyke  
vnto an Ass. The Captaine Generall being come to this  
Port or Baye, and lieng at Anker there, caused the shippes  
which carried their victuals, to be discharged thereof, and  
bestowed the same in the others, commaunding those ves-  
sels to be then burned, as it was ordained and commaun-  
ded by the King in that behalfe. In doing whereof, & other  
things also which were necessarye and needfull to be looked  
vnto, and foresene, for their more safetie in the rest of their  
voyage, they remained ten dayes in that place, where, vpon  
the Friday next after the Captaine generall and the rest had  
arriued, ther appeared vnto them, about the number of foure  
score and ten men of that Countrey, some along vppon the  
landes, and some vpon the top of their Mountaines, which  
when the Generall sawe, he and other the Captaines went  
to the shore ward, and all the company of the shippes went  
armed in their boates, carrieng ordinaunce w<sup>th</sup> them, as  
fearing

fearing the lyke chaunce y<sup>e</sup> happened to them in the Ilande  
of Sancta Helena, the Boates then drawing nere to the  
shore, the Generall threw on lande little belles, which the  
Negroes tooke vp, and some of them came so nere vnto  
him, that he gaue them the bells into their owne handes,  
whereat he wonderfully meruailed, for that Bartholome  
Dyas had informed before, that when he was there, they did  
run away, and wold not be allured to come so nere view.  
The Generall therfore finding & perceiuing contrary to his  
expectation, the gentlenesse of those blacke people, he then  
leapt out on lande with his men, making exchange of cer-  
taine red night caps with the Negroes for Bracelets of I-  
uory which they had, and so for that time departed. The  
Saturday next after came to the number of two hundred  
blacke men: and more, some little, some great, bringing with  
them twelue Oxen and foure sheepe, and as our men went  
on shore, they began to play vpon foure flutes accord-  
ingly with foure sundry voyces, the Musicke whereof sounded  
very well, which the Generall hearing, commaunded the  
trumpets to sound, and so they daunced with our men. In  
this pastime and feasting, and in buying their Oxen and  
sheepe, that daye passed ouer, and in the selfe same sort, vpon  
the Sunday following, many of the same, and many more  
with them as well men as women, came againe bringing  
with them many Kine, and hauing solde one Ox, our men  
saw certaine little Negroes, which were hidden in certayne  
bushes, who had with them the weapons of the greater  
sort of men: wherein our men coniectured, that some trea-  
son was ment to them, and therfore the Generall commaun-  
ded our people to retire to another place, which was of  
more securitie, and those blacke men went all along the  
shore directely against our boates, vntill they came to the  
place where ours disembarked themselves, and went vppon  
the lande in armour. The Negroes then toynd themselves  
as though they intended to fight, which the Generall per-  
ceiuing, and not willing to doe them anye harme, did then  
retire, imbarcking himselfe, and so to feare them, commaun-  
ded

## The Conquest

The little  
Negroes  
made  
more a-  
feard then  
hurt

ded two brasse pices of Ordnance to be shot off, where  
at they were amazed, and ranne away without any order,  
leauing their weapons behinde them. After this, the Cap-  
taine generall, caused to be carried on the shoze, a certaine  
marke of Piller, with the King of Portugales Armes, and  
a Crosse, which being there set and erected, the Negroes pul-  
led downe the same our men yet being there. These dayes  
thus passed ouer, the Captaine generall with the rest of the  
Fleete departed thence towards the Riuer called, Ryo del  
infante, vpon the Friday being the eight day of Nouember,  
which was the feast daye of the conception of our Lady,  
and in sailing forward on their voyage, ther arose so great  
a storme with a forewinde, vpon the daye of Saint Luke,  
that our whole Fleete did runne with there small sayles,  
and that also verie low. In this course they lost the com-  
pany of Nicholas Coello, howbeit the next night after they  
all met, and ioyned together againe. Now hauing past and  
sailed through this great storm, or rather torment of wind,  
which then was ceased, the Captaine Generall, vpon the  
sixteenth daye of December did discouer lande, which were  
certaine small Rockes, being distaunt from the Harbour of  
Saint Blaze threescore leagues, and five leagues also from  
the other part of the Rocke called De la cruze, where Bar-  
tholome Dyas did erect his last marke: from which place  
to the Riuer Del Infante are fiftene leagues. This Coun-  
trei is very pleasant and sightly in viewe, and in the same  
is great store of Castell, and the further our Fleete sayled  
on that Coast, the better and higher the Trees were, all  
which things our men might well perceiue and discerne, by  
reason they went so nere the shoze with their ships. And  
vpon the Saturday they past hard by, and within sight of the  
Rocke De la cruze, and for that they were then come so far  
forward as the Riuer Del infante, they were loath to passe  
the same, and thereof taking counsell all the next night,  
they went somewhat wide from the Coast, with a fore-  
winde, vntill euensong time, and then the Winde came  
to the East, which was right against them, wherefore the  
Captaine

## of the East India.

10

Captaine generall made to Seawarde, going in such  
sort, as sometime he kept the Sea, and sometime vpon to-  
wards the lande, vntill the Tuesday being the twentieth of  
December, at the setting of the Sunne, the winde then com-  
ming to the West, which was a forewinde, and whether  
to attayne to haue knowledge of the Lande they consulted  
all that night, which were best to doe. The next daye at  
tenne of the Clocke in the fore none, they came to the  
Rocke aforesayde, which is thre score leagues a stearne the  
place, wherevnto they minded to goe.

This Rocke, is the cause of the great Currents that  
are there, and the selfe same daye the Fleete through pas-  
sed the same Course, with a great forewinde, which had  
also indured them thre or foure dayes, and wherewith they  
ranne through those Currents, which greatlye they fea-  
red, and were in doubt to haue done. These dangerous  
Currents, thus safetie and happely passed without losse  
or damage, they all were very glad and ioyfull, that they  
god fortune was to haue passed the same in manner as  
Bartholome Dyas befoze that time had accordinglye done.  
Wherefore the Captaine generall, being animated and  
encouraged with this his great god lucke and fortune,  
and after thanks giuen to God for the same, did then  
saye, that hee verely belieued, that it was Gods good  
will and pleasure that the Indias should be founde.

They safe-  
ly passed  
the dange-  
rous cur-  
rents

¶ How the Captaine generall came to the Lande,  
called, La terra de la buena gente, and after  
went to the Riuer, called, Ryo de las buenas sen-  
nales: how hee brought theyr shippes on  
grounde, and of the great sicknesse our people  
had after they arriued there. Chap. 4.

D.ij.

Thus



Thus following their voyage, they perceiued that vpon Christmas daye, they had disco- uered along the Coast, thre score and thre leagues to the Eastward, which was the waye he carryed with him in his Register, and wherein the Indias are: And here the flete went along vpon the Sea, without taking land, so farre, that they began to want, and haue lacke of water for to drinke, and were inforced to dresse their meate with salt water, so that no man of that flete had then allow- aunce of water to drinke, more then one pinte a day. How- beit vpon the Friday being the eleuenth day of January, in the yeare of our Lord God. 1498. draving nere the lande, they went out in their boates along the Coast to take view thereof, and so passing by the same, they saw many Nigroes with a great company of women, all of them of great sta- ture, which went along the Sea side, and when the Captain generall saw and perceiued, that they shewed themselues to be a people, flexible to ciuilitie, and of a quiet disposi- tion, he commaunded one of our men called Martin Alon- so, who coulde speake manye languages of the Nigroes, and one other with him, to leape out on Lande, and to goe to them, which immediatly those two persons did: and at theyr comming to the same blacke People, they were of them verie well receyued, and especiallye of the chiefe person or Gouernour of the same, to whome, our Generall vielding his and theyr manner of courtesie, forthwith sent a Jacket, a payre of Hose, and a Cappe, bring all redde, and a Bracelet of Copper, of which things he was verie glad, and rendered great thanks to the Generall for the same, saing: that with a verie good will, he shoulde haue of gifte, anye thing he would de- sire or had neede of, that was to be had in his Countrey. All which, Martin Alonso, vnderstanding theyr lan- guage tolde to the Generall, who was verie ioyfull that  
by

A reward  
sent by  
Generall  
to a Ni-  
gro.

by his interpretation, those people and ours might of each other haue vnderstanding, giuing also at that instant license to y same Alonso & one more of our men to goe with those people for one night to their Towne, at the request of the same gouernour, who verie earnestly required the same. The gouernour then apparelled himselfe with those Gar- ments which the Generall gaue him, and with great plea- sure gaue commaundement to many of his chiefe men to goe before and receiue him when he came to their towne: The people as they went viewed and beheld with greate pleasure and admiration those vestures which our General had giuen him, clapping their hands for ioy thereof, which manner of glad some reioysing; they vsed thre or foure times, before they came to their towne: And after their en- traunce therein, they went round about the same, to the end all the people and inhabitants thereof, might see and behold those giuen garments and straunge arrais: Which being done, the gouernour entered into his house where he com- maunded Alonso and his companion to be well lodged, and gaue to them for their supper a Hen euen such as ours be, and Day made of Mylyo, which is a kinde of graine of a yelow colour, whereof also they make bread: This night repaired many Nigroes to their lodging to see them: And the next daie after the gouernour sent them to their ships with certaine Nigroes of his laden with hens, for the Cap- taine Generall, who rendered thanks for the same, and re- quired by his interpreter, those Nigroes, to saie vnto their Gouernour, that he now saw and perceiued him to be a no- ble man, or king of that countrie, & forasmuch as the Ge- nerall, and the rest of our men in those five daies wherein they had honored vpon and viewed that Coast had no man- ner damage done or offered them: and saw both many qui- et and gentle people there, & also many noble men, he gaue to this land an apt name, calling it, The Land of good people, in the Towne where Martyn Alonso was, theyr houses be made all of strawe, and verie well furnished within: The women be more in number, then the men:  
D.iii. for



for in the companie of forrie women there are no more but  
twentie men: They carrie with them long bowes with ar-  
rowes and darts of yron, and vpon their armes and legges  
they weare many bracelets of Copper, and some peeces of  
them in their haire. Also they carrie daggars, the hafts of  
handles of Pewter, and the sheathes of Iron, so that it is  
manifest, that they haue in that Countrie plentie of copper  
and tinne: Moreover they haue great store of Salt, which  
they make of Salt water, carrieng the same from the Sea  
side in gourds, and putting it into certeine Canes where  
they make the Salt: These kinde of people were so gladd  
of the linnen that our men carried with them, and brought  
with them thether, that they gaue for one shirt much Cop-  
per. They also were so quiet amongst our men, that they  
brought them water to their boates from a riuer which  
was two Crofbowe shotte from the place where our men  
toke in the same, which riuer they call Ryo de Cobio:  
From this place our Fleet departed the fiftenth daye  
of Januarie, and going vnder saile, did discouer land of an  
other countrie which lyeth very lowe, wherein were trees  
verie high and thicke, and so proceeding forward they disco-  
uered or found a riuer which was verie open at the ente-  
ring of the same: And for that the Generall thought it ne-  
cessarie to reknowlege or haue notice of that Countrie, &  
there to learne whether they might heare anye newes or  
intelligence of the Indias, he commaunded to come to an  
Anko, which was vpon the Thursday, being seauen daies  
before the end of Januarie, and the same night he with his  
brother Nicholas Coello entered the riuer, and at the daw-  
ning of the daye, did well perceiue the lande to be lowe  
and couered with water, hauing trees of great height, and  
thicke loaden with sundrie sortes of fruites: Our men then  
beholding the land, which was verie pleasaunt, they sawe  
also certeine boates, at that present comming towarde  
them, with men in the same, whereof the Generall was ve-  
ry glad, supposing vpon sight of those people and view  
of their countrie, in that manner, which argued they had some  
know-

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uered of  
curteous  
Moors

knowledge and experience of the Sea, that therefore they  
were not farre of from the Indias, or at leastwise could not  
then goe far, but they should heare newes of the same: When  
the people with their boates came nere to our Fleet, our  
men perceiued they were all blacke people, of good stature,  
howbeit all naked, sauing their priue members, which wer  
couered, with little peeces of linnen made of Womebast or  
Cotten, they came nere and entered into our ships without  
any feare, and in such sorte vsed themselves towarde our  
men, as though they had ben of long acquaintance and fa-  
miliaritie with them: They were very well receiued of our  
people of the Fleet, the Captaine Generall commanded the  
same, and also that there shuld be giuen vnto them certeine  
little Wels & other things, & he talked with them by signes,  
for they did not vnderstand any of Martin Alonso his lan-  
guages, nor any other interpretour y our men the had: After  
this their good intertainment they departed, and as it seemed  
well liking of the same, they and many others with them  
afterward returned in their boates to our ships, bringing  
vnto them such victuals as their countrie yeldeth: They  
in apparence shewed themselves verie well contented with  
our men, & as they came by water, so also did many others  
of those people repaire thether by land, & amongst them wo-  
men of indifferent good beautie, especially y young maides,  
which goe after the same sort, that the men doe: They haue  
in their lips three holes, and in euery hole a pece of tinne,  
which they esteeme as a thing very gallant and gaye: They  
toke with them certeine of our men to make merrie at a  
countrie towne there nere hand, and where they set water  
for our ships. And after the three daies space that our Ge-  
nerall was in that riuer, there came of curtesie two noble  
men of that countrie to visit him in their boates, whose ap-  
parell was none other, then of the rest, sauing the peeces  
of linnen wherewith they couered their members, were  
farre greater, then those the common sorte vsed, and one of  
them ware vpon his head a tucke or kerchiefe wrought  
with silke, and the other had a night cap of greene Satten.

The

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sie & appa-  
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Countrie.

The Captaine Generall seeing those men somewhat addicted to cleanness was verie glad thereof, receiued them in courteous manner, and commaunded to giue them meate, and moreover he gaue them apparell and certeine other things, but it appeared by their countinaunces they smalle of nothing at all esteemed thereof: Howbeit while they remained in our Shippes, the Generall perceiued by tokens and signes which a young man that came with them then shewed, that their countrie was farre of thence, and that they had scene as great ships as ours were, whereof he greatly reioysed, and all our people in like manner as then verely hoping and thereby coniecturing, that the Indias were nere to that place: which their hope and coniecture, was also farre the more augmented and confirmed, for that after those noble men were gone to shore, they sent to the Fleet, certeine linnen cloth to sell, which was made of Cotten, vpon which also were certeine marks of Dkar, in respect of which good newes, and intelligence here found, and likely to ensue, the Captaine Generall gaue to this riuer a name, calling it, The Riuer of the good tokens or marks, and caused there a marke to be erected, calling the same San Raphael, according with the name of the shippe wherein hee was, and went that voyage. And forasmuch as he perceiued by the signes of the young man, that those noble men inhabited a Countrie farre thence, and that they had scene shippes as greate as ours, hee thereby and vpon other coniectures gathered, that their Countrie was nere to the Indias, and so consequently that the Indias was farre of from that riuer where our ships then lay: wherefore consulting hereof, it was by him and the other Captaines then determined vpon, that all the shippes should be brought on ground, which determination was executed accordingly, & the same ships repaired, dyed, and trimmed in all points needfull and necessarie: In doing whereof they spent and passed ouer two and thirtie daies, in which time our men sustained and passed ouer great troubles and tormentes of minde, by occasion of a sickness there happened amongst them,

This sickness is called the Scurfe

them, which was thought to growe by meanes of the aire of that countrie, for that the hands and feete of so many of them, and also their gums in such sorte did swell, that they could not eate, and the same so rotted, that the stinke which came out of their mouthes was so great and pestiferous, that none could abide the saour thereof, with this pestilent infection & sickness our men were greatly discomfited, & many of them dyed thereof, which also put the rest of the companie in greate feare and perplexitie of minde: Yea, and further would haue increased and aggrauated their griefes of bodie and sorowes of minde, were it not that one De Gama a man of good nature and condition had taken speciall care and vled greate diligence, for the recouerye of their healths, and putting them in comfort: who continually visited the sicke, and liberally departed vnto them such wholesome and medicinable things, as for his owne bodie hee had prouided, and carried with him, through whose good counsell giuen, great pains taken, and franke distribution of that he had, many of our men were recouered, which would otherwise haue died, and all the rest thereby were greatly recomfited.

¶ How the Captaine Generall with all his Fleete, came to the Iland of Monsambicke. Chap. 5.

**T**he Fleet being furnished and prouided of all things necessarie, the Captaine Generall then mindfull of his voyage, departed thence, vpon the Saturday, being the 24. day of Februarie, and the same day, and all the night following, for that he was incalmed and to auoide the shore, made way into the sea: and vpon Sunday by euensong time, our men descried three Islands a Sea-board, all of them being but little or small, they were distant one from another foure leagues: Two of them were replenished with great woods, & the third was plaine, to arrive to these Islands the Generall was not willing, for

three small Islands discovered not worth the entering.

E.

that

that he sawe or coniectured no cause to occasion the same, & therefore he still kept the sea, staidng & comming to an anko<sup>2</sup> alwaies as the night approached, which manner of course & order he used and continued the space of five daies: And upon the thursday being the first day of March towards evening, our men came within sight of foure Ilands, whereof two were nere the sho<sup>2</sup>, and the other two a Seaboard, & for that they would not that night fall with them, they still kept the Sea, minding to passe betwene them, as indeede they did: Whereupon the Captaine Generall determined & commaunded that Nicholas Coello, by reason his ship was lesse then the others, shuld go first, & so going upon the Friday within a certain harbour, which was betwene y<sup>e</sup> maine land & one of the Ilands, the said Nicholas missed y<sup>e</sup> channel, and ranne on ground, which daunger when our other ships sawe comming after, they did cast then about, & went backe, and as they were returned, they perceiued comming out of that Iland, seauen or eight little boates vnder saile, being distant from Nicholas Coello a good league: At sight of those boates comming towards them, Nicholas Coello and those which were with him toke great pleasure, & for loye gaue a great crye, and at their repaire to them Coello and they went to the General and saluted him, to whom the same Coello sayd: How say you sir, here is an other kinde of people: wherevnto the Generall answered, that hee was very glad of that good fortune, and therewith commaunded to let them go a Seaboard with their boates, for that his meaning was to beare with them to that Ilande from whence they came, and there to come to an Anko<sup>2</sup>, of purpose to vnderstand what land that was, & whether amongst those people, he might heare or haue anye newes or certaine intelligence of the Indias: yet notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> generals commaundement, they in their boats followed our ships, alwaies making signes and calling to our men, therein to stay and tarrie for them, wherefore the Captaine Generall, with the other Captaines came to an Anko<sup>2</sup>, and so they in their boates approached nere, and came to our flecte: And then

then by view of their persons it appeared they were men of a good stature and somewhat blacke. They were apparelled in linnen cloth of Cotton, welted with sundry colours, some girdled vnto their knees, and others carried the same vpon their shoulders as cloaks, and vpon their heads they weare a certaine kinde of tucks or kerchiefe somewhat wrought with silke and gold thrid. They haue swords and daggers as the Mo<sup>2</sup>es doe vse them, in their boates they brought with them their instruments called Sagbuts. These men being thus come to our ships, they forthwith came aboard the same with great opinion of assurance, euen as though they had knowne our men a long time, and immediatly began to be conuersant, and very familiar with them, vsing their speeches which they vttered in the language of Algarua, and would not be knowne they were Mo<sup>2</sup>es: The Generall commaunded to giue them meate, & they did both eate and drinke with a good wil, of whatsoever was giuen them: And being asked at commaundement of the General by one Fernan Aluarez (who could speake y<sup>e</sup> language) what land that was, they answered that it appertained to a great king which was before, & how that Iland was called Mombimbicke, and the towne there full of Merchantes, which haue traffike with the Mo<sup>2</sup>es of the Indias, who bring thither siluer, linnen cloth, pepper, ginger, siluer ringes, many pearles, and rubie stones, and that out of another Countrey, which remained behinde, they doe bring them golde: Declaring further that if our men would enter into the Harbour there, they would bring them thither, and they shuld perceiue and see the truth, and more at large, touching those thinges they then gaue information of: The Generall hearing this, entered into counsell with the other Captaines, debating the matter thereof, and argued whether it were good to enter the Harbour, and see if those things were of truth, which those Mo<sup>2</sup>es had imparted to them, and also there to take some Pilottes to carrie them further, since they were now destitute of such: Upon which consultation, it was there determined,

C.ii. that

The Iland  
of Monsa  
bick, with  
the towne  
of Merchandise.



## The Conquest

that Nicholas Coello shuld first make an assay & pꝛoue for enterance and sounding of the barre, by reason his ship was the least of the flete: which accordingly he forthwith did. And so going to enter he went and touched the point of the Island, and therewith brake his helme, howbeit through God his goodnesse, he perished not there although he was in great daunger and hazard thereof, for as he went vpon the point vnwares, so with quicke speede and good fortune he gotte of the same: Neuerthelesse he perceived and found y the barre was good to enter, and therfore he came to an anker, two crosbow shot from the towne situated in that Island, which is in fiftene degrees towards y South, it hath a very good harbour, and also great plentie of the victuals of that countrie, the houses of that towne be made of strawe, and the dwellers therein are Moores, which trade to Sofala in great ships, that haue no decks nor nailes, but are lashed with Cayro, and their sailes are of mats made of the leafe of a palme tre: some of them doe carrie with them compasses of Ceane by which they doe gouerne, & they be square, they haue also Seacards: with these Moores, the Moores of Indias haue trafficke, and with those from the red sea, by reason of the golde they haue there.

When they saue our men, they supposed them to bee Turks, by reason of the knowledge they had of the Turks countrie, through intelligence of the Moores which dwel in the red sea, they which were first in our ships went & tolde their Xequé (for so they call him alwaies that is gouernour of the towne) which was there for the king of Quiloa, vnder whose obeisance this Island was.

¶ How the Captaine Generall entered into the harbour of Monfambicke, and how the gouernour there, came to visit him at his ships, making peace with him, and gaue him two Pilottes to carry him to Calicut, verely supposing our people to be Turkes.

Chap. 6.

Cayro is the caske or rind of a nut they haue in y India called Cayro, and with the same these ropes are made

The

## of the East India.

15



The Xequé or Gouernour hauing knowledge of our comming, and that Nicholas Coello was come to an Anker in the Harbour, he verely beleued that they were Turkes or Moores of some other place, and therfore forthwith he came and visited him in his ships, accompanied with many apparelled in silke, whome Nicholas Coello receiued with great courtesie: but so far much as he nor any of his ship could speake their language, the Gouernour farried not long, howbeit Coello vnderstode very well, that the Gouernour deemed them to bee Moores, and therfore he gaue him a red Cappe, whereof he made no accompt, he gaue him also certaine blacke beades, which he carried away in his handes, both which were giuen and taken for token of assurance betwene them: and when he should depart from our ship, he required by signes of Nicholas Coello to haue his boat to carrie him to lande, who gladly graunted the same, and sent therewith certaine of our men, which the Gouernour at his returne to lande, carried with him to his house, feasting and banketting them with Dates and other things, and sent by them to Nicholas Coello: a pot of Dates preserued, wherewith he feasted the Captaine Generall and his brother, after they had entered the Harbour.

The Gouernour now perceiuing the rest of our shippes arriued in the Harbour, immediately sent to visite them, beleuing they were Turkes, and presented them with many pleasant & delicate meates, demanding also license to come and visite them himselfe. The Captaine generall returned for presents to him againe, certaine red hats, short gownes, corall, balons of brasse, little halokes bells, and many other things, all which (as the messenger reported, that carried the same) he nothing esteemed, as king for what purpose those things were good, and demanding why the Captaine sent him not Scarlet, as the thing which he chiefly desired. Notwithstanding he came and visited the Captaine Generall who hauing knowledge of his comming, commaunded the

Our men taken for Turkes, by the Moores of Monfambicke

C. iij.

ships

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ships to put out their flagges, and to toll the same. Likewise he ordered, that all our sicke and diseased men, shoulde be hid and not come in sight, and that to his shippe shoulde be sent from the rest of the shippes, all those that were not sicke, whom he caused secretly to be put in armour, of purpose to be in a readines if the Moyses offered anye force, or sought to betraye them. This preparation made, the Governour came accompanied with manie men, all very well apparellled in silke, bringing with them many trumpets of Tuoze, and also other instruments, still plaieng vpon the same: he was a man of a good stature and leane, he brought vpon him as it were a shirt of linnen cloath, which came downe to his heeles, and vpon the same, the lyke of velvet of Meca, hauing vpon his head a cappe of silke of many colours, and trimmed with golde, at his girdle, he ware a sword and dagger, and vpon his fete shewes of silke. The Captaine generall receiued him at the entrance of the ship, carrieng him from thence, in that part of the ship, where the same was couered ouer and trimmed in the best manner it might then be, and many of his people with him, the rest remaining that came with him in their boates. The Governour thus being receiued into the ship, the Generall desired him to take no offence in that he sent to him no Scarlet, since in truth he brought none with him: onely he declared that he had in his ships, but such Merchandise, as he would giue and bestow for victuals, when his men shoulde want the same: and that he went in this order, only of intent to find out & discover the Indias, by comandement of a great & mightie King whose seruaunt he was. All which things the Generall tolde him by the mouth of Fernan Martin, who was the Interpreter betwene them: and then commaunded to giue them such banquetting meates, and wine as were carried in the shippe, whereof he did both eate and drinke verie well, and so in lyke manner did the other, who came with him, all which were likewise feasted. And as the Governour remayned after this, a very friend to the Generall, so also did his people make much, and ex-

tende

tende great friendship to our men. He asked of our Generall, whether they came from the Turkes Countrey, for that as he had heard saye, the people of the same are white as ours were, requesting also to haue a sight of their Countrey bowes, and of the bookes of theyr Lawes: Whereunto our Generall aunswered, that he and his Companye were not of the Turkes Countrey, but that they were of a great Kingdome, which confined vpon the same, and as touching theyr bowes and weaponnes, he shoulde with verie good will see them: But as for the Bookes of theyr Lawes, they had none there with them, for to carrie the same, were to no purpose, since vpon the Sea, they needed not the vse thereof. Then were brought before him certaine Crossebowes, which also in his presence were bent and shot off, whereat he greatly meruailed. They also produced to sight and viewe of him certaine harnesses or armours, whereat he also meruailed much.

By occasion of this meeting and feasting, the Captaine Generall had notice and intellygence, that from thence to Calicut were nine hundred leagues, and that it was verie needefull and necessarye for him to take a Pilot of this Countrey, to conduct him and his Companye, by reason they shoulde finde manye shoells in theyr Course thither: and also that along the Coast there are manye Cities: Moreover he vnderstode then, that Presbiter Ioan was farre from thence within the Countrey.

Now since it was so expedient to haue a Pilot, the Generall then requested to haue two such of the Governour, who graunted and made promise of the same, vpon condition that our men shoulde well vse and content them: Of these Pilots so promised, our men were glad, for that if one of them shoulde happe to dye, the other yet might remayne and serue theyr purpose, and for that consideration, our Generall required a couple. After this time, the Governour once more came to visit the General, bringing with him both the Pilottes he had made promise of, to

to each of which was giuen thirtie Crownes and a coate, every Crowne worth in money, five shillings, with this condition, and from that day forward, that when the one of them would goe to shore, the other should remaine in ship, for that our men would alwaies haue one of them on ship-board, whilest they remained in Harbour.

¶ How the Gouvernour of Monsambicke, vnderstanding that our Fleete was neither of the Turkes nor yet Moores, would haue taken and killed them, and how the Captaine generall vnderstood thereof; and what further than followed. Cap. 7.



The Moores withdraw their good wills knowing that we were Christians

These meetings and speeches thus had, for assurance of friendship betwene them, & the concurse of them being ended, and the Gouvernour departed, yet then immediately after appeared, that those Moores hauing had such company and long talke with our men had gathered and come to knowledge that they were Christians, whereupon all former good will and friendship of the Moores, was now conuerted into wrath and furie, for they practised meanes to kill our men, and so to take the ships. The Gouvernour had thereof consulted and made provision, for execution of their mischeuous enterprize, which had bene likely to haue taken place, and sorted to a sorrowfull hap and euent, had not the Almighty of his diuine goodness, moued the heart of one of the Moores, which was received for Pilot to discouer the same to the Captaine generall, who fearing least those Infidells should sodainlye in daunger him and his, for that they were manie in number, and with him were but a small companye, did therefore determine to remaine no longer in that harbour. And so vpon the Saturday, being the tenth daye of March, & seuen dayes after his arrivall there, he departed thence, and went with his ships into the Sea, and came to an Anko harbour by an

Islande in the same, which was one league from that of Monsambicke, and this was done, to purpose, that vpon Sunday, they would heare Masse on lande, confesse themselves, and receiue the Sacrament, which since their coming from Lixborne they had not done. After our shippes were thus at an Anker, the Captaine generall then perceiuing the same to be in place of assurance so as the Moores should not burne them, (whereof before he was greatly afrayde) which now by their remoue was preuened and put out of doubt, he then determined to retourne to Monsambicke in his boate, to demand the other Pilot that remayned on lande at their coming thence: and so leaving his brother with the Flote in order and readinesse to come and succour him, if he should see him in daunger, he departed towarde Monsambicke carrying with him Nicholas Coello in his boate and the other Pilot Moze. Going in this sort, they saw how there came bearing right with his boate, fire boates with many armed Moores, hauing long bowes & arrows, and also shieldes and speares, who when they sawe our men, beganne then to call vnto them, willing them to come to the harbour of their Towne. The Pilot Moze tolde the Generall what they meant by their signes and tokens they made, and gaue him counsell to retourne thither, for that otherwise the Gouvernour woulde not deliuer the other Pilot which remained on the shore, at which his speech, the General was very angry, supposing he gaue that counsell, to the ende at their coming nere the shore, he might escape and runne away, and therefore commanded him to prison, and caused forthwith to shote at theyr boats with their Ordnance, which shot when Paulo de la Gamma heard, and believing it had bene some further matter of daungers to the General, then the cause thereof was in hand, he immediately came forward with the ship called Berrio vnder saile, which when the Nigroes perceiued, they fled, & made away with great hast, and so fast that the Captaine generall could not ouertake them, & therefore he returned with his brother to the other ships where they lay at Anko.

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The next day the Generall, with all his men went on land, heard Masse, and receiued the Sacrament very deuoutlye, being the night before confessed: which being done, they all went aboard their ships, and made saile the same day. The Generall perceiuing no hope to remaine for recouerie of the other Pilot, which was on shore in Monsambicke, gaue then commaundement to release him that was in the ship committed to prison, (as before you haue heard, whome they carried with the on their voyage. This Pilot minded to be reuenged vpon the Generall, in stomacke of his imprisonment, determined to cary the to the Island Quiloa, which was peopled all with Mozes, and as it seemed, meant to in- forme the King of that place, that our shippes were of the Christians, of purpose thereby to occasion him to kill and destroy them all: and therefore subtilly to shaddowe his wicked intent, he willed and perswaded the Captaine generall, not to trouble himselfe with the want of the other Pilot, for that he would carrie him to a great Island, which was from thence one hundred leagues, and inhabited as it were the one halfe by the Mozes, and the other by Christians, which alwaies were at wars the one with the other, from whence also he might furnish himselfe with Pilots to carry him to Calycut: But as the Captaine generall had good liking of those speeches, so yet gaue he no great credite to the man, neuerthelesse he did promise him great giftes, if he did carrie him to that Countrey: and so went forward on his voyage with a small winde. The Tuesday after, being within sight of lande from whence he departed, hee was incalmed, which did indure Tuesday and Wednesday, the next night after with an Easterly wind being but smal, he made way, and went into the Sea, and vpon Thursday in the morning, founde himselfe and all the flete, foure leagues backe behinde Monsambicke, & so going untill the Evening the same day, came then to an Anker hard to that Island, where the Sunday next following he heard Masse. The winde thus being contrary to his purpose of nauigation, he therefore remained in that place eight daies to wait

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for such gale thereof as would serue to put him forward on his iourney: In which time repaired to our ships a white Moze which was a Minister of the Mozes of Monsambicke, who comming on board the ship of the Generall, declared that the Gouvernour of the same Towne greatlye did repent him of the breach of peace & friendship he had made with him, & that he would gladly renew the same againe & confirme it, & so remaine a friend. To whom the Generall returned answer by that messenger to this effect, that he would make no peace with the Gouvernour, neither would he be his friend, untill such time as he did send to him his Pilot whom he had hired and payed, with this answer, the Minister departed, and neuer came againe. The Captaine generall thus staid still there, and expecting the winde, there came to him after the Minister was gone, a certaine Moze, who brought his Sonne with him being a boye, and asked the Generall whether he would carrie them in his ships with him to the Citie of Mylynde, which he should finde in the course he shoulde keepe towards Calycut: Declaring that he would gladly goe with him, and returne to his Countrey which was nere to Meca, from whence he came as a Pilot, in a ship to Monsambicke, and therewith aduertised the Generall, not to carry vpon any answer, from the Gouvernour, who he was assured would make no peace with him, for that he was a Christian. The Captaine was verie gladde of the comming of this Moze, for by him hee deemed, to gather sufficient matter of information and intellygence of the straghtes of the Redde Sea, and also of the Townes that lye and be situated along the Coast, by the which he must saile to Mylynde, and therefore he commaunded to receiue the same Moze and his Sonne into his Shippe, and by reason it was then somewhat late, and that they had no store of water, the Generall with the other Captaines determined to enter into the Harbour of Monsambicke, to take in there so much as they needed, appointing also there shoulde be great watch, for

A white  
Moore re-  
paired to  
our ships.

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preuen-

prevention of the Moors, least that they should by any device set on fire the ships. Upon this determination and being prepared accordingly, they proceeded and entered the harbour on Thursday, and when the night was come, they launched out their boates to go with them for water, for the Pilot of Monsambicke informed the Generall, that it was within the firme lande, offering to bring him to the same. Whereupon taking the Pilot with him, he departed about midnight to goe thither, hauing Nicholas Coello in his company, and leauing Paulo de la gama in charge of the ships. Being come to the place where the Pilot informed the water to be, it could not so be found, for he no doubt, went more to make escape and runne away, then to persourme what before he promised, but whether that he was amazed with imagination of escape, and so could not finde it, or that of mallice (since he could not run away) he would not finde it, he caused them to spend that night without attaining the purpose of their repaire thither, wherefore the day light appearing, and seeing they could not finde the water, the Generall would remaine no longer, hauing but a small company of men with him ther, and fearing least the Moors would set upon him, did therefore determine to goe to his ships, of purpose to fetch more men, and so if need were to fight with his enemies, knowing also he should farre better finde the water by day then by night. So hauing bene at his ships, and there furnished his boates with more force of men and armour, he returned to shore ward againe, carrieng with him the Pilot of Monsambicke, and hauing also Nicholas Coello in his companie as before to take in water. And when they drew nere to the same, the Pilot seeing that he by no meane or device coulde runne away, did then forthwith shew them the water, which was harde by the shore side, where also then were in sight the number of twentie Moors skirishing with their darts, and shewing as though they were appointed there for the purpose and would defende the water against such as would enterprize to fetch or take any thereof.

The

The manner whereof when our Generall sawe, he caused to be shot off, three gunnes to force them to auoide & giue place in that ground, so as our men might leape forth of their boates and land without resistance: The Moors amazed & afrighted with cracke and shot of Ordnance, ran away and hid themselves in certein bushes, and so our men quietly landed and toke in fresh water, and a little before the sunne set arrived at their ships, where they found the company there disquieted in minde, for that a Nigroe of John Cambrayes, Pilot to Paulo de la Gama, was that day run away to the Moors, whereof when the General understood, he was very sad and sorrowfull for the same, since he was a Christian: Upon the griefe and sorrow hereof he remained there Fridaye following: Upon the Saturday, being the xiiiij. daye of March, and the euen of the Annunciation of our Lady, early in the morning appeared upon the shore side a Moore right over against the flete, who cried out with a lowde and shrill voice, saying, that if our men would haue water, they should nowe come for the same thither, where they should finde such as would inforce them to returne. The Captaine Generall perceiuing how small account they made of him, remembryng also the iniury done him in not deliuering the Pilot, and therewith hauing fresh in memorie the losse and running away of the Nigroe, his Pilots seruant, did thereupon grow into some cholar, and so determined to shote of the ordinaunce of his ships, into the towne of his enemies, thereby to be reuenged upon the same for the iniuries done him, by the inhabitants thereof, and this his determination, he imparted to his Captaines, who hauing liking of the same, yelded thereunto, and immediately imbarcked themselves in their boates, arming the same with such men as they had, and so comming before the towne, and against the same, there were Moors along the shore, which had made a pale of bowds so thicke, that our men could not perceiue who was behinde the same. And betwene that pale or defence and the sea, vpon the shore there was one hundred Moors, armed with Targets,

f. iii.

shields,

The  
Moors  
runne a-  
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cracke of  
the ordi-  
nance



shields, darts, bowes, arrows, & slings, who so soone as our boates came bin compassse or reach of their slings, began to send forth of the same stones at our men, who immediately answered them again with shot of Ordnance, through meanes whereof they left the waters side, retiring within their impaled defence, which was presently after beaten downe with our ordnance, & the enimies running to their towne, left behinde them two of their companie slaine in that place: the defence thus broken downe, and the same all carried away, the Captaine Generall with his men returned to dinner, in which time it was straunge to see howe the Moozes ran awaie by land from that towne to another, with  $\frac{1}{2}$  feare they had of our men, and from thence they went by water to another place, which was on the other side. After dinner our men went with their Captains to see whether they could take any Moozes, verely beleeuing that by taking of some, they shuld for the same haue restitution of Cambrades Nigro that was runne away as yon haue heard before: And moouer they thought to recouer two Indians which the Pilot Mooze tolde the General were captiues in Monsambicke. In this tourney onely Paulo de la Gama did take foure Moozes in a boate. And although ther were other boats wherein many Moozes were, yet could not they be taken, for making hast to the shoze, & attaining the same, they ran away, leaving their boats as a pray to our men, who found in  $\frac{1}{2}$  same much linnen cloth made of cotton, & also books of their lawes of Mahoma, which the Generall commanded to bee safely kept: And albeit he went that day along and befoze the town in his boate, as other his Captaines did in like manner in theirs, yet could not they procure anie talke or speech with anye of the Moozes of the towne, and to goe on shoare he durst not, for that he had but few men in number with him, wherefoze for that time hee departed thence: and the next day returned to shoare to take in water, which without anye resistance was done. Howe beeing without all hope to recouer the Nigro and the two Indians, the generall then determined to depart without them, howbeit befoze his departure, he went to visit the town of Monsambick, & the dwellers therein, with some sufficient reuenge, by sending to the same such messengers, as thereby they might decme him their mortall enemy, through the offence they had giuen him, wherefoze vpon the munday following hee went befoze the towne of the Moozes with his Ordnance, and shooting into the same, destroyed it in such sorte as the people thereof were inforced to abandon the same, and fflye into an Ilande within the country. And so vpon the Twesday being the xxvii. daie of March, our Fleet wayed Ankoze & departed from the Towne of Monsambicke, & so in going forwarde came to an Ankoze hard by two little rocks of Saint George, for so they named it after they came thether, where they remained, for that the

the towne  
of Monsa  
bick batte  
red from  
the Fleet

winde was contrarie to their purpose: Nevertheless hauing, after a small winde they departed, howbeit the same was so small, and the currents there so great that they were cast backward.

Howe the Captaine Generall after his departure from Monsambicke, went towards the citie of Quiola, how hee lost himselfe going to the Iland of Mombassa, & how the ship called S. Raphael stroke vpon the Flats, the which now haue the same name. Cap. 8.



The Captaine Generall following his voiage, and being very glad, that they had found, that one of the foure Moozes which Paulo de la Gama toke in the boate was a Pilot, & could carry them to Calicut, vpon the Sunday being the first daie of Aprill, came to certeine Ilands which were very neere to the shoze, to the first whereof they gaue a name, calling it the Ilande of the Afotado, which they so named, for that they there did whippe the Pilot Mooze of Monsambicke, by commaundement of the Generall, as well for that he had told them those Ilands were firme land, as also befoze that he wold not shew the Generall the water at Monsambick in the night when they sought for the same as befoze is declared: and therfoze now taking him with the lie, as informed of those Ilands,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Generall was very angrie with this Pilot, supposing as it was likely, that he did carrie them thether, of intent the ships should be cast away amongst the same: The Mooze being cruellly whipped confessed  $\frac{1}{2}$  indeed he did cary & train them thether of purpose they shuld there haue perished, and bene cast vpon the daungers and rocks of the Ilands: These Ilands were so manye and so neere together situated, that they coulde hardlye bee discerned one from another, which when the Generall perceiued, he made into the Seaward, and vpon the Fridaye which was the fourth daie of Aprill, made his way to the Northwest, & befoze the noone tide of the same, had sight of a gteat land, and of two Ilandes neere to the same, about which, were many shoies: now being come nere to  $\frac{1}{2}$  shoze,  $\frac{1}{2}$  pilots Moozes did reknowldge  $\frac{1}{2}$  same, howbeit they said  $\frac{1}{2}$  the Iland of the Chistians is that of Quiola, which was behind or a sterne by 3. leagues, wherwith the generall was much grieved, beleeuing  $\frac{1}{2}$  certainly they were Chistians as the Pilots had informed him, and that they had willingly lost their course, for that the shippes should not arrive at that place. The Pilottes shadowing their treason made shew of a

The Iland  
of Afotado  
& why so  
called

rea-

reasonable excuse, saying, that as the winde was greate, so were the currents swift, by reason whereof the shippes had further made saile then they thought for: But the truth was in dede, that they more sorrowed their missing and passing by the Iland where they informed to be Christians, then did our Captaine Generall: For they were verely in hope to haue ben reuenged ther, vpon our men by death of them all: But GOD beholding the daunger and perill meant towards them, of his diuine goodnesse and mercye deliuered them from the same, and that by a great miracle: For if our men had gone thether, not one of them had escaped with lyfe, since the Generall hauing such a beleefe & opinion, that there were Christians in that Iland (as the Pilot had tolde him) would no doubt haue gone presently on land at his arriual there, and so thereby runne headlong into a place where he and his people should haue bene put to slaughter: The Generall thus sorrowing the misse of that Iland, for that he supposed there to haue found Christians, and the Pilots Mores in chafe with themselves for that they had missed their course thether for purpose afore said, it was then on each part determined, to goe back and assaie to finde the same: neuerthelesse although they earnestly bent themselves to attaine vnto that desired Ilande, and spent that day in trauell to winne their purpose therein, yet coulde they not preuaile thereto: For still the winde was so contrarie, and the currents so great, as doe what they could, they failed of their wills, and were put off from arriual there, which no doubt was done by Gods prouidence, and of his wære fauour and goodnesse towards our men: as not willing they should receiue anie daunger, or susteine crueltie, or losse of lyfe, amongst those Infidels, and therefore miraculously he preserved our people from the effect and sequelle of the malice of those two Pilots of the Mores of Monsambicke, which had imagined in their mindes, and travailed to bring to finall and execution their diuellish intent: The Captaine generall and the other Captaines thus tossing vp and downe, to and fro, as well with their ships, as also in their

mindes

mindes, determined to beare towards the Ilande of Mombassa, in which as those two Pilots gaue information, were two Townes, peopled and inhabited as well with Mores as Christians: (which instructions these Pilots gaue, to the intent to deceiue our men, and to traine them thether, of purpose there to kill them, for that in dede that Ilande was altogether and wholly inhabited by Mores, as in lyke manner all that Coast is,) and therefore understanding that from thence to Mombassa are seauntie seauen leagues, they made way to goe thether, and being then towards Euening, they saue a great Ilande situated towards the South, in which the Mores Pilots sayde there were two Townes, one of Christians, and the other of Mores, as afore sayd. Thus they sayd and inuented to the intent to bring our men in opinion, and make them beleue that there were in that Land, and those Coasts many Christians. In this sort our ships going vnder saile, certayne dayes, the ship called Saint Raphael by fortune one morning two houres before daye light, came on ground vpon certaine shoells, two leagues from the firme lande, and as she strake on ground, they within made signes to the other ships to take heede and beware, wherevpon they shot by the shoells and came to an Ankor, launching out their boats to giue succour to Paulo de la Gama Captaine in the Raphael, and perceiuing when they came to the same, that the water did ebbe, the Generall was muche glad thereof, for then he well knew, that at the next flood the ship would be afloat againe, so that now he lost the feare and ialousie he had conceiued, vpon the doubt he had that she was lost. Thus recomforted with the certaintie they saw of the safetie of the ship, they forthwith layd into the sea many ankers. By this time it was daye light, and after that it was a lowe water, she then remained drye vpon the shoze being a Sandie ground, which was the cause she took no harme, by striking vpon the same. Our men placed their Ankers which were layd forth right ouer against themselves, and walked vpon the Sandes whilst the Ebbe endured.

G.

So

Another  
deuile of  
the Mores  
to destroy  
our men  
vithali

## The Conquest

The Sho-  
els of S.  
Raphael.

So staing for the fload, and beholding and viewing that Ilande, so farre as they coulde see, they gaue for name to those Sandes, the Schoells of Saint Raphael, in respect of the name, the Shippe there so hazarded did beare. And to certayne great Ilandes and Hilles which were within the firme Land, directly ouer against those shoells or sands, they gaue the name of The Hills and Ilandes of saint Raphael, vpon the same consideration.

The Shippe thus being dyed, our men saue two boates, and Poyes of that Country in the same comming towards them, to see our shippes, bringing manie swete Drenches, farre better then those of Portingale, and gaue the same to our men, saing also to the Generall, that in no wise he should feare any damage that coulde ensue to the Shippe on grounde, for that when it were full Sea, the woulde then be on floate agayne, so as at will and pleasure the same might passe on the intended voyage thereof, with which speaches the Generall was very glad not onely for the good comfort they gaue him, but also in that they came in so good season and time opportune, and therefore he gaue them certayne giftes, which they accepted with manie thanks, and certayne of them vnderstanding that our Flote intended their Course to Mombassa, they desired the Generall to carry them with him thether, who graunted their requests, permitted them to abide and remayne with him, the others retourning from our Flote to their Countrey. And when it was a full Sea,

the Shippe befoze on ground was afloat,

and so came off from the Sandes,

wherevpon the Captaine ge-

neral returned, and pro-

ceeded on his way,

with all his

Flote.

¶ The

## of the East India.

22

¶ The description of the Iland and Citie of Mombassa, and how the Captaine generall arrived there, and what was the sequell that hapned him after he came thether. Chap. 9.



The Generall following this voyage, did vpon the Saturday being the seauenty day of Aprill, about the going downe of the Sunne the same daye come to an Anko without the Barre of the Iland of Mombassa, which is harde by the firme lande, and is verie plentie of victuals, that is to saye, Millyo, Rice, and Cattell, as well great as lyttle, but all well growen and fat, chiefly their sheepe, which be all without sayles. Also they haue manie Venues: Moreover, the Ilande is verie pleasaunt, hauing many Orchards, wherein are planted and are growing, great store of hearbes, & manny sorts of fruites: that is to saye, Pomegranets, Figges of the Indias, Drenches both swete and solwer, Lymons, and Cidrons, and in the same are manny excellent good waters. In this Ilande there is a Citie, bearing the selfe same name of the Ilande, being in foure degrees on the South side, it is a verie great Citie, placed and scituated vpon an Hill, which also is a Roocke, wherevpon the Sea doth beate, so that it cannot bee vndermined.

At the entering into the Portes or Hauen there is a Parke: and at the enterance vpon the Barre, there is planted or builded a lyttle Fort, lowe and nere to the water. The most parte of the houses in this Citie, are builded with lime and stone, with the lofces thereof brought with fine knottes of Plaster of Paris, the strates therein are verie sayze. They haue a King of themselves, and the dwellers or inhabitants of the same are Poyes, whereof some be white, and some browne of coulour, both men and women: it appeareth they are good men on horse backe.

G.ij.

They



## The Conquest

They goe gallantly arrayed, especially the women, which go apparelled in golwines of silke, and be decked and garnished with Jewells of golde and precious stones. In this Citie is great trade of all kindes of Marchandize. There is also a good Harbour, where alwayes are manye shippes lieng at Road, and from the firme land commeth thether great plentie of Bonnie, Ware and Juozie, the Captaine Generall thus comie to the Barre of this Citie, did not then enter forthwith, for that it was almost night when he came to an Anko. But he commaunded to put forth the flagges, and to toll their shippes, reioycing and making great mirth, for that their good fortune, and hope they conceived, that in that Ilande there dwelled manye Christians, and that the next daye they should heare Masse on the shoze. Moreover they were greatly comforted, as hauing such confidence, that in this place they might and would cure and heale all such as were then sicke amongst them, as in truth were, almost all that were there present, albeit in number but fewe, for all the others were dead. Yet such as remained and had escaped the sicknesse and diseases past, and were not dead of the great infirmities and troubles befoze in this voyage chaunced vnto them. Being thus at an Anko, and the night almost approached, our men saw about an hundred men in a great Barcke, euery one of them hauing a Sworde and a Target, who at their comming to our shippes, would haue entered therein with all theyr weapons: howbeit the Generall would not consent thereto, neither permitted he anye more to enter then foure of them, and those also without weapon, declaring to them in their language that they shoulde pardon him since he was a straunger, and therefore coulde not tell whom he might trust, and vnto those whom he gaue license to enter aboard his ship, he gaue good and gentle entertainment, banketting the same with such Conserues as they had, (whereof those Mozes did well cate) willing them not to doe euill of him, for his denyall of theyr enteraunce in manner aforesayde, where-vnto they answered, that theyr

Certaine  
of the in-  
habitants  
of this  
city came  
aboarde  
the ship.

comming

## of the East India.

23

comming then was to see him as a rare and new thing in that their countrie, and that he shoulde not meruaile to see them bying theyr weapons, since it was the custome & vse of the same to carrie them as well in peace as in the time of warre: also they further declared vnto the generall, that the king of Mombassa did vnderstand of his comming, and for that it was so nere night, he had not then sent to visit him, howbeit the next day he would, and that as he was glad of his arriual there, so also would he be more glad to see him, yea, and to giue him spices to load his ships, furthermore, they informed him that there were many Christians, which liued by themselves in that Iland: whereupon the General was not onely ioyfull, but also fullye perswaded that their report thereof was true and vnfeined, since the same was agreeable, and accorded with the information and talke of the two Pilottes, neuerthelesse he carried some sparke of iealousie in his head and for all their faire speeches and sugred talke, he wisely imagined y those Mozes, came to see whether they might, by anye traine take one of our ships, wherein he gessed vpon the truth, for certainly their comming then was onely for that purpose, as after ward it was made apparant. For most true it was y the king of Mombassa did know and had perfect intelligence that we were Christians, and also what we had done in Monsambicke, & therefore he practised meanes to be reuenged of vs, by taking our ships and killing of vs, wherefoze prosecuting his wicked intent therein, the next daie following, which was Palme sundaie, he sent to our Generall certaine white Mozes, which declared to him y their king was very glad of his comming thether, and that if he wold come into his harbour, he would liberally giue him all things he stood in neede off, and for assurance of the same he sent him a ring, a shawe, and many swete Dringes, Cidrons, and Sugar canes, giuing also these Mozes instructions to tell him further, that they were Christians, and that in the Iland were many christened people: All which they did in such sorte counterfette, and with so great and deepe dissimulation, that

Some  
practises  
of fowre  
treason.

G. iii.

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our men thought verely they were Christians: wherefore the Generall receiued them very well, and gaue them certaine gifts, sending to the King greate thanks for his gentle and liberall offer, saying further, that the next day he would come nearer in: He sent also to the King a branch of Corall verie fine, and for more assurance to confirme the same, he sent with those Mozes two of our men, which were banished persons, and were carried of purpose to be aduentured in such like respect of daunger, or to be left and putte on shoze in such places, where if shoulde be thought god to vnderstande somewhat, and then to returne and be taken in againe, when our men and the two Mozes were gone: and come to the shoze, there met them a multitude of people to see them, all which went with them and viewed them, euen to the kings Pallace, where our men being entered, they passed through three doores before they came where the king was, at each of which there was a Porter attending, hauing euery one of them a sword in his hand. They found the king but in small estate, neuerthelesse he receiued them verie well, and commaunded that in the selfe same companie of the Mozes with whome they came, they shoulde be shewed the Citie, and carried about the same in going and viewing whereof, they sawe in the streetes many men prisoners & in prisons, but because our men vnderstode not their language, nor they had any vnderstanding of ours, there was no question demaunded by our two messengers, what prisoners those were, howbeit they belaued the same to be Christians, for that our Generall was informed by the two Pilottes, and the kings messengers, (as you haue before hearde) that there were in that Ilande such Christians, which also had warres with the Mozes.

Moreouer they carryed our men to the Merchantes house of the Indias, which were Christians, who hauing information that ours also were people Christened, shewed themselves to be ioyfull thereof, both embracing and banquetting them, shewing them painted in a Paper, the figure

Merchants  
of the Indias  
which  
are Christians

gure of the holy Ghost, the which they did worshippe, and before them made their Prayers vpon theyr knees, and that with such a countenance, and shew of greate deuotion, as though they were such men inwardlye in dede, as in appareance outwardlye they then presented, and made shewe off: Furthermore, the Mozes then tolde our men by signes, that manye other Christians as those were, did dwell in another place farre from thence, and therefore they would not carrie them thither: howbeit they sayde, that after our Captaine Generall were come into the Porte or Harbour, they shoulde goe and see them. All these things those wilie people, shewed and imparted to our men, of purpose to deceiue them and to allure them to come within that Porte, where they were determined to destroy and kill them all.

After they had seene the Citie, they were then brought to the presence of the King, who commaunded to shew them Pepper, Ginger, Cloues, and Wheat, giuing them of euery sorte thereof some portion to be carryed and shewed the Generall, and sent him worde by his messenger, that of all those commodities he hadde greate store, and would giue him his loading if that he would. Also that he had Golde, and Silver, Amber, Ware, Iuorie, and other riches, in so greate plentie, that he shoulde haue and finde there when he would for lesse valour and prizes, then in any other place.

This Message was brought to our Captaine Generall vpon Mundaye, who hauing seene the Spices, and hearing of the Kings promise, to furnishe him the same, and to lade him therewith, was meruailous gladd of that offer, and so much the rather, was he confirmed in opinion of good lucke, for that our two banished men, hadde gathered such intelligence, and made him so full and good declaration of the People, Citie, and Lande there, and chiefely of the two Christians, they founde in the House of the Merchantes of the Indias,

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Wherefore he & his Captaines immediatly aduised themselves thereof, and so entering into counsel for the same, it was by them thought good, to come within the port, and to accept the offer of Spices, and afterwarde to goe on theyr voyage to Calicut, where if they could not haue the like, they would remaine content, with that they should haue in this place, and thus hauing concluded vpon these posities, they determined to enter into the harbour the next daie: in this meane while came certeine Moyses to our ships with so great quietnesse, and humilitie, and with such shew and appearance of friendlinesse and loue, as though they had ben of long acquaintance and familiaritie with our men: The next day following in the morning, y<sup>e</sup> cloud being come, the Generall commanded to take vp their Ankozs, minding to enter the harbour, but God not willing that he and the rest should enter into that present mischiese, nor to ende theyr liues in that place (as the Moyses had determined they should haue done,) did therefore cause and prouide the meane, that presented that perill, and wrought their safetie: For when the Generalls ship had wayed her Ankoz, and was going to enter the port, she strake vpon a shoel that was asterne the same, which hap when he perceiued, and fearing hee should cast himselfe away, he then forthwith commanded, to let fall his Ankoz, & in like sort did the other Captaines also: which chance when the Moyses that were in the ships sawe, & that the Generall was come to an ankoz, they then imagined that during that daye, they shoulde not gette the flate into the harbour, and therefore they ran to theyr boate, which they had on the ships side to goe to the Citie, at which instant also the Pilots of Monfambicke, falling a stearne the Admirall, toke the water, and those of the boate toke them in and carried them away with them, although the Generall called vnto them, requiring them to bring backe, and deliuer them to him againe: But when he sawe they would not so doe, then he apparantly perceiued that ther was an euill meaning in their being and them, towards him and his, and that it was his great goodnesse and fauour

God sent them faithfully checks to keepe the fro vtter destruction

faueur to giue him cause of staye, by happening vpon that shoell, thereby to preserve him from their treason imagined, and put in practise: Thus hauing declared to all his company, the opinion he conceived of that which then before their eyes was done, and appeared to be deuised and wrought against them, he then commaunded the night being come, to giue some torments or torture, to two of the Moyses, which he brought captiues with them from Monfambicke, thereby to see whether they had practised any treason, and to inforce them to open and disclose the same: which commaundement being obserued, and put in execution, by heating and dropping of bacon vpon their flesh, they immediatly confessed, they had conspired treason, and that the Pilots toke the Sea, as fearing the same had ben disclosed: wherevpon the Generall, altogether altered his minde and purpose of going into that Harbour. Neuerthelesse being vnquiet and greatly grieved at their fallshood, he was desirous to vse lyke torture to another Moyses captiue also: to make tryall whether he were of counsell and in consort with the rest.

But this Moyses perceiuing preperation made for that purpose, did cast himselfe his hands being bound, into the sea, as in lyke manner another of them did, before it was daye light. The secrecie of the mischiese prepared, being thus come to apparaunt view, and so discovered, the Generall gaue great thanks to God, by whose only goodnesse, he and his company were deliuered from imminent death and slaughter amongst those Infidells, and therefore in contemplation and thanks giuing for the same, he and his company being aboard the Admirall, sayd the salue Regina. After this being mindfull of their safetie, and fearing least the Moyses would attempt some matter against them in the night time, they therefore ordained strong and diligent watch, commaunding euery man to watch armed: And here by the way is to be noted one thing, and that to be meruayled at, which is this: That when our men came first before the Towne of Mombassa, all such amongst them

Tunnie  
good  
meate &  
plentifull  
in the  
coast of  
Môbassa.

them as then were sicke, (which indeede were many) began then presently to be whole : so that in this time of theyr great necessitie, and daunger, they felt and found themselves sound and strong, which as it was past all hope and expectation of man, and farre above the common course of nature, and operation of the same, so the more liuely it appeared to be the meruailous and supernaturall worke of God, and therefore miraculously done at this instant time of necessitie, when his diuine power was to be seene and extended, for the preservation of that poore distressed number, which then had their onely assistance in him. The watch thus prepared and set for that night, it fortuned that those which watched in the shippe Berrio, felt the gabell of the same wagging, whereat an Ankoze lay into the Sea, and at the first they adiudged that the gabell had bene wagged or shaken by a kinde of fish called a Tunnie wheteof many were there about which be very great and good meate, but giuing better and more attentiu eare thereto, they then perceiued that their enemies were at the same, who in truth did swimme about the gabell, and were cutting of it with their woodkniues or sawchings, and hoping or rather verely knowing, that performing their enterpryse thereof the shippe would runne a shoze, and so both she and our men in the same be cast away and taken : for by any other deuise they coulde not accomplish their willes, and therefore they practised this meane. Howbeit our men hauing discryed whereabout they were, preuented them, by crying out and calling to the other shippes, shewing what was in doing, and willing them also to beware and looke to the same, whereupon they of the shippe Raphael, came presently to their succour and rescue, finding some of their enemies amongst the cheines of the tacklings of their forraste, who perceiuing how they were discouered, sodainly cast themselves vnder water, and with the others that were cutting the gabell of the shippe Berrio, fledde away swimming to certaine boates, which they had lycng somewhat farre off, wherein (as our men afterward vnderstode) were many

Moyses,

Moyses, who taking them in, rowed fast awaye, and so returned to the Citie. The Wednesday and Thursday following, our flecte still remained there, about which in 8 night time came the enemies in boates, which alwayes lay harde by the shoze, from which some of them did swimme of purpose to espie, if by any meane they could cut a sunder the gabells of the Ankoze, but our men obserued and kept such diligent and warie watch, that they could not preuaile, notwithstanding our men were greatly troubled, and put in feare of burning their shippes. For truly it was to be meruayled at, that the Moyses came not about the same in such shippes as they had, which if they had done, it had bene then likely by all coniecture of man, that they should haue destroyed and killed vs all. It was coniectured that they being in feare of the Ordnance in our shippes, durst not giue attempt to set vpon the same by force, but whatsoever cause appeared in our sightes to be a lette in that respect to them : It was most certayne in dede, that it was God his good will and fauour, to put their hearts in feare to deale with vs in anye forcible manner, whereby we might be preserved from the crueltie intended towarde vs.

¶ Heerein is containd matter of the Citie of Mylinde, and how the Captaine generall came thether. Chap. 10.



The Captaine generall did willingly carrie & remaine before Mombassa, the two daies as before is declared, of purpose to see if he could haue from thence two Pilots to cary him to Calicut, for that without them it was verie hard for him to goe thither, D. ij. since

## The Conquest

Since our Pilots had no knowledge of that Countrey. But when he sawe he could not haue anye there, he departed thence vpon Friday in the morning with a small winde, and at the comming ouer the Barre, he lefte behinde him one of his Ankoꝝ, for his men were so wearied with bring- ing and hailing vp the rest, that they could not waue vp the same, which afterward being found ther by the Moꝝes, was carried to the Citie, and placed harde by the Kings Ballaice, and remained there at what time Don Franco de Almeida was the first Lord President of the Indias: who when he tooke the same towne from the Moꝝes, found this Ankoꝝ there, as I shall declare in the second Booke of this present Treatise. Being thus departed from Monbassa and passing on their voyage, eight leagues beyonde the same, the Generall and his flete, through lacke of winde, came to an Ankoꝝ hard by the land in the night, and in the dawning of the daye, they discouered two Sambucos (which are little Pinnacies) vnder the lye, thre leagues from the flete a Sea word, which when the Generall sawe, and being desirous to haue some Pilots to carrie him to Caly- cut, he supposed he might be sped of such to serue his turne, if he could take those small boates or Pinnacies, and ther- fore waying his Ankoꝝ, he and the other Captaines went towards them, and pursued the same vntil Euen-song time, at which instant the Generall took one of them, but the other ranne alande, from whence befoze it came. In this Pinnace which was so taken, were seauenteene Moꝝes, amongst which was one olde Moꝝe, who seemed to be Ma- ster of the rest, hauing with him a young woman that was his wife: In the same also was found great store of siluer and golde, and some victualles. The Captaine not staying vppon this occasion, forthwith went forwarde, and in the selfe same daye with his whole flete came harde by Mylynde, which is eightene leagues from Mon- bassa, and in thre degrees to the Southwarde it hath no good Harbour, for that it is almost an open Roade, but there is a certain Piere or Recife wheron the sea doth beat,

Among  
the Moꝝes  
also olde  
men vie  
to maie  
young  
men.

which

## of the East India.

27

which is the cause why the ships doe ride far from y<sup>e</sup> shore: This Citie standeth in a broad field along the Sea side, & round about the same are many Palme trees, with many other sorts of trees, which all the yeare grow greene: Also many Gardens and Orchards, replenished with all kind of hearbes and fruits, and very faire fountaines of good wa- ters in the same: But principally their Oranges excel, which are not onely very great, but also very sweet and pleasant in tast: They haue also great store and plentie of victuals, as Mylyo and Ryse, Cattell both greate and small, also great store of Hennes, which bee very fat and good cheape. The Citie is great, hauing in the same faire straits, & ma- ny faire houses of lime and stone, builded with many lofts, with their windowes and farris made of Lime & earth: The naturall people of that Countrey are blacke, and of good proportion of bodie, with curled haire, the straungers which resort thither & make their abode there, are Moꝝes of Arabia which doe gouerne themselves very well & com- mendably, especially the Gentlemen, who from the girdle vpward goe naked, and from the same downeward doe co- uer themselves with silke, and with very fine cotten cloth, and others with short Cloakes made of Cotten after the olde fashon, the which they doe weare to couer their arme pits: and vpon their heads, they weare a certeine manner of Cloth wrought with silke and golde. They weare also rich Daggers with great tassels of silke, of many colours, and swordes very well garnished: They be all left handed, and carrie with them alwaies bows and arrowes, for they vse the pastime of shooting, & be great good Archers. Moꝝes- uer, they account themselves to be good horsemen, although there be a common saieng or speech vsed by the inhabitants in the coasts thereaboutes: The men on horsebacke of Monbassa: and the women of Mylynde: for as in Mon- bassa be very good horsemen, so in Mylynde are very faire women, which goe richly apparelled: In this Citie also dwell many Gentiles of the kingdome of Cambaya, which is in the Indias: and these are greate merchants vsing tract

The beau-  
tiful situ-  
ation of  
Mylynde,  
with the  
pleasant-  
nes of the  
soile, and  
fruits.

V.iii.

or



Mylynde  
like a city  
of Por-  
tingale

of trafficke for golde, whereof there is some in that Coun-  
trie, as in like manner ther is Amber greace, Quoy, Pitch,  
and Waxe, all which they giue in exchange to such as  
come from Cambaya for Copper, Quicksiluer, and Cloth  
of Cotton, and that the one and the other hath gaine ther-  
of: The king of this Citie is a Moze, and is serued with  
farre greater estate then the other kings which remaine  
behinde. The Generall being come ouer against this Citie  
did reioyce in his heart very much, and so likewise did all  
the rest of the flete, for that they now saue, a Citie lyke  
vnto those of Portingale, and therefore they rendered most  
heartie and humble thanks to God, for their good and safe  
arriual there: And being desirous to haue some Pilottes  
to carrie them to Calicut, the Generall commaunded to  
come to an Anko, minding to assay if he coulde by any  
meanes obtaine such there as might serue for that purpose:  
For vntill this time, he could not know of the Mozes hee  
had taken, whether amongst them were any Pilots, who  
albeit they were offered toments, still answered and said,  
there were none of them skilfull in that respect.

¶ How the Captaine Generall sent a Moore in message  
to Mylynde, and what aunswere the King made  
him. Cap. 11.



The next day after being Easter euen, the  
old Moze which was taken Captiue, with  
the rest in the Pinnace, tolde the Generall  
that in Mylynde were foure ships of the  
Christian Indias, promising also that if he  
would license him, and the other Mozes  
to goe to land, he would giue him for his resgat, Christi-  
an Pilots, and moreouer wold furnish him with all things  
he had neede off. The Generall being well pleased with the  
speeches, and offer of this olde Moze, commaunded to wey  
theyr Ankoys, and so remoued and came to an Anko with  
in

in halfe a league of the Citie. But from thence there came  
no bodie to our flete, for they feared and were in doubt  
that our men would take them captiue, and besides they  
knew by the Pinnace which the Generall toke, that wee  
were Christians, believing also that our Shippes were  
Shippes of warre: All which the Generall supposing they  
coniectured: hee therefore vpon the Mundaye in the mo-  
ning commaunded the olde Moze to a certeine helpe ly-  
eng ouer against the Citie, and there to leaue him, from  
whence he deemed they woulde fetch him, as indeede they  
did, for when our Boate was gone from thence, there  
came from the shoare a boat for the Moze, & so caried him  
away presently to the King, to whome the Moze decla-  
red on the behalfe of the Generall what hee requested to  
haue, and further that hee desired to be at peace with  
him, in respect of his noble personage, whereof hee had heard  
greate good reporte, hoping also that it was God his great  
good will & pleasure that the Indias should be discouered,  
which the rather by his aide & furtherance might be accom-  
plished. The king hearing and receiuing in fauourable part  
the message, and messenger, was also verie gladd thercof,  
and forthwith returned the Moze in a Boate, sending  
with him one of his owne seruantes, and a Priest by  
whome hee sent the Captaine Generall worde, that he was  
verie willing to conclude a peace betwene them, and that  
hee woulde giue him such Pilottes, as he woulde desire,  
with whatsoener besides he had neede of, and by these mes-  
sengers were presented to the Generall, from the King  
three Shaxe, many Dreges, and Sugar Canes, which he  
receiued in thankfull wise, & by the selfe same messenger, re-  
turned answere to the king their Maister, that he graunted  
vnto, and accepted of the peace moued and offered betwene  
them, and was and woulde be readie to confirme the same.  
Moreouer hee saide vnto them, that the next daye, hee woulde  
enter into their Harbour, and that the King shoulde  
vnderstande that hee came from, and is subiect to a  
greate King, vpon the Cape of the Occident, who  
was

A present  
sent to  
Captaine  
Generall  
from the  
king of  
Mylynde.

was desirous to know where the Citie of Calicut stode, & had sent him to finde out and discouer the same, commanding him also, to make peace with all kings and Princes, vpon whose territories in his waie, he should hap to come and arriue, which would be willing to haue the same with him: and further tolde them that it was now two yeares since he came from his Countrie, and that the king his Maister was such a worthy and puissant Prince, as the king their Maister would be gladd to knowe him for his friend: Thus hauing talked and discoursed with them to effect aforesaid, hee then dismissing them, sending by the same for a Present a Hat, (which in that time was used) and two braunches of Corall, three balons of Brasle, certeine little Bells, and two Scarffes to the king. The next daie after, being the second after Easter daie, the Captaine Generall came nere to the Citie, whereof the king hauing knowledge, did immediatly send to visite him, in more honourable sort: for hearing how farre of he was come, and what he sought, he adiudged the king of Portingale to be a Prince of a great stomack, and the General to be a worthy subiect in obeyeng to hazard himselfe, in so daungerous and long a iourney. Also hee conceived greate pleasure in his heart that he shoulde see such people, as had so long time trauailed vpon the sea, and so desirous to see our men, he sent word to the Generall, that the next day following, he would in his own person visite him, and that their meeting should be vpon the water, and therewith sent him fire shiepe, and store of Cloues, Ginger, Pepper, and Nutmegs. This message thus declared, the Captaine Generall yielded to the kings determination, and therevpon did enter neerer, and came to an Anko, harde to the foure shippes of the Indias, (whercof the olde Poze tolde him before.) The Owners then hauing knowledge that our shippes came from a Christian Countrie, and that we were Christians, did immediatly come to visite our Generall, who at that instant was in the ship of Paulo de la Gama: These men are browne of coulour, but they are of good stature & well

pro.

proportioned: They goe apparelled in long white golwes made of cotten, they haue great beards, & the hayre of their heades is long lyke vnto womens, and pleited vnder theyr lockes, which they weare on theyr heades. The Generall at theyr repaire to him, receiued them verie well, asking them first whether they were Christians, by an Interpreter he had that could speake the Algarauia tongue, wherof they had some vnderstanding, saieing that it was not their proper language, howbeit they yet had some knowledge thereof, by occasion of the trade and talke they usually haue with y<sup>e</sup> Mozes, of whom they aduised him to beware, and not haue ouer farre trust and confidence in those of Mylynde, least that the sequell of their inwarde meaning, were farre contrarie to their outwarde shewe. The Generall determining of himselfe to make tryall, whether they were Christians or not, or had anye knowledge of God, commaunded to bring forth a Table, wherein was painted the picture of our Ladie at what time she wept, in which also were the pictures of some of the Apostles, and shewed the same to the Indians, not telling them what it was: which when they sawe, they fell presently dolene vpon the ground, worshipping that Representation, and prayed a while, whereof our Generall was verie ioyfull, and then demaunded whether they were of the Citie of Calicut, wherunto they answered, No: howbeit they sayd they were of another Citie, further off called Grangalor, but of Calicut they could not say or informe any thing. And from this time, so long as our flote remayned there, they dayly came to the shippe of Paulo de la gama, to make their prayers before that Table, and did offer to the Images in the same, Pepper, and other things. These Indians did eate no Beefe, as we were informed of them.

The description of their persons and attire that inhabite this countrey and Citie.

How the King of Mylynde visited the Captaine generall, and made peace with him, giuing him a Pilot to carry him to Calycut. Cap. 12.



**H**He last day of the eight after Easter, dinner being done, the King of Mylynde came in a great boate hard to our Flöete, appparelled in a Caslocke of Crimson Damask, lined with græne satten, hauing vpon his head a rich towell. He was sitting in a chaire, such as was vñed in olde time, very well made and wrought with wire, being in sight very faire, and in the same was a cushion of silke, and another like vnto that hard by him, which was couered with a hat of Crimson satten. There stood hard by him as his Page, an olde man, who carried a very rich sword, the scaberd wherof was silver: he brought with him manye Shagbuts, and two Flutes of Quozie, which were eight spans of length each of them, they were very well wrought, and vpon the same they played by a little hole that is in the midst thereof, agreeing and accompanying well with the shagbuts. There came with the King, about the number of twentie Mozes Gentlemen all richly appparelled. The King now being come nere to the ships, the Captaine generall came forth to meete him in his boat well trimmed and set out with all his flagges, and he himselfe comely araid, withall his best apparell, carrieng with him twelue of the most principall men of his shippes, his brother onely except, whom he left with charge of y<sup>e</sup> same. The boates of each part being come nere together, and the one making countenance of friendly salutation & entertainment to the other, the King then said to the Generall, that he would speake with him in his owne boat, of purpose to see & view him the better, wherupon forthwith he receiued him into his boat, the King then giuing to the Generall as great honour & curtesie as though he had also ben a King: he very earnestly noted & beheld him & his men, as a strange sight and matter to him and his people: he required the Generall to tell him the name of his King, and being tolde, he

The meeting of the king of Mylynde and the Captaine generall.

commaunded the same to be then presently written: he also inquired matter perticularly of him, & of his power, wherunto the Generall answered, and in euery point satisfied his demaund, declaring also for what cause y<sup>e</sup> King his master had sent him to discouer Calicut, which was to haue from thence spices, whereof in his dominion & country was none. And after he had thus talked with the King & informed him somewhat of the same & of the straights of y<sup>e</sup> red Sea, the King then promised to him a Pilot to carry him to Calicut, & also very earnestly desired him to goe with him into his Citie, there to take his pleasure, & solace himself in his Pallace, saieing it was needfull & necessary, after so many troubles, in so long a voyage sustained, to vse some recreation, and take some rest: further then promising, that if he would so do, that afterward he in like manner would go with him to see his ships, & make merry in the same, wherunto the Generall answered, that he had no license of the King his Master to go a shore, & therefore if he shuld varie from his Princes wil & commaundement therein, he shuld then giue an euill accompt of himselfe, to which excuse the King replied, saieing, that if he shuld go to see his ships, what accompt should he then make to those of his Citie, or what might they deme & adiudge of him therein: yet notwithstanding he said, y<sup>e</sup> it was a grieve to him y<sup>e</sup> he refused to go with him to his Citie, which was & shuld be at y<sup>e</sup> commaundment of him & of y<sup>e</sup> King his master, to whom he wold send his Embassado, or els write, if he wold come y<sup>e</sup> way at his returne from Calicut. The General yielding thanks to the King, promised him to returne y<sup>e</sup> way, & whilest they were thus talking there, did send for those Mozes, which he had taken captiues, and gaue them to the King, saieing that if he could do him any further pleasure, he wold gladly doe the same: with which gift the King was so content, that he said, he did more esteeme of the same, then if he had giuen him such another Citie as that of Mylynde was. Now hauing ended their talke and confirmed the friendship betwene them, the King then rowing amongst our ships,



and behelde the same, with great pleasure and admiration, out of which great store of shot of Ordnance passed, wherewith they were greatly delighted, all which time our Generall went with him, to whom he declared, that he neuer saw any men of whom he tooke so great pleasure, as he did of those of Portingall, whereof he would gladly haue some with him, to helpe him in his warres, which he hath sometime with his enimies: for it well appeared they were men apt to offend their enimie, and to abide and suffer any trauell or paine, that should happen vnto them. To which his speeches the Generall answered, that if hee had experience of their doings, he would then a great deale better lyke of them, and further that they would helpe him, if the King his Master would sende his ships of warre to Calicut, as he doubted not but he would, if it wer Gods good pleasure to permit the same to be discovered. After the King had in this sort solaced himselfe, he then desired the General, that since he would not go with him to his Citie, he should then let him haue two of his men to go and see his Wallaice, and for pledge of the same, he would giue him his sonne, and one of his chiefe Chaplaines, the which they call Cacus, wherevnto the Generall yeldded and appointed two of our men to go with the King, who at his departure, requested the Generall that the next day he would goe along in his boate hard by the shoare, where he should see his hoysmen running, & so they departed for that time, the next day being Thursday, the Captaine generall & Nicholas Coello, went in their boates armed along the shoare, the one somewhat distant from the other, betwene whom vpon the shoare were many men on horsebacke skirmishing, & as our boats approached nere the shoare, there came certaine footemen downe certaine wayes of stone from the Kings house, which was in sight, where they tooke the King vp in a chaire, and carried him verie nere to the Boate of the Generall, to whom he spake verie louing wordes, and once moze requested him to enter vpon land, and go to his Citie, for that his father being a lame man, was desirous to see him, and that

that whilst he should remaine on shoare, both he and his children would enter and abide in his ships. But our Generall, fearing least vnder such sugred speech some bitter baite might lie couered, did therfore still excuse himself for going on land, alleadging hee must obey his Prince, who gaue him no license or commission so to do at anie time. And so taking his leaue of the king, hee went a while hard by the ships of the Indias, shooting off much Ordnance, who when they sawe vs passe by lifted vp their hands, saying: Christe, Christe, and that night with the kings license our men made them a great feast, with much pastime also of Squibs, Gunne shot, and great and lowde cryes. The Fleet thus lying in y harbour, there came vpon y sundaie being the .21. day of Aprill, from the king, a man that was in great credit with him, to visite the Captaine Generall, who at that instant was very sad and heauie: for that it was then two daies since any man came to the Fleet from the Citie, by reason whereof he feared least that the king were offended with him, as taking occasion of offence, for that he refused to go on shoare, supposing also that he would therevpon, breake the peace and league made betwene them, for which he was sorrowfull, especially since as yet he had no Pilots. And when he sawe, that he which was so great with the king, did bring him no Pilots, he then began to haue some iealousie, and suspicion of the king, who being informed therof, and knowing the Generall remained there for that cause, did therfore forthwith send him a Pilot, a Gentile (called in their language Gofarate) whose name was Canaca, making excuse that hee had not sent him sooner, and so the king and the Generall remained friends, and continued the peace befoze concluded vpon betwene them.

¶ How the Captaine Generall departed from Mylynde, came to Calicut, and of what greatnesse and noblenesse that citie is. Cap. 13.

The Generall would not consent to go on land at Mylynde



**T**he Captaine Generall being thus provided of all things necessarie for his voyage, departed from Mylynde towards Calicut vpon the Wednesday, being the 22. day of Aprill, and from thence he began to cut ouer a goulfe, which is of seauen hundred and fiftie leagues, for the land there doth make a certaine great valley, which doth runne along the coast from the North to the South, and our voyage in demanding of Calicut, lay to the Eastward, in following whereof the next Sunday our men sawe the North, which a long time before they had not scene, and also they sawe the South, of which good fortune they thanked God, in that it represented as then to them winter of the Indias, & where alwaies in that goulfe are great stormes, they now found none, but rather faire weather: The Fridaye being the .xvii. daye of May, and .xiii. daies next after their departing from Mylynde (in which time they had scene no land) they then discovered & came to sight of land. And the flete being viii. leagues of seaboard from the shoare: the land seemed high: their Pilot whose name was Canaca, did as then let fall the Plommet, & found fortie fife fathom, wherevpon to a uoide and apart himselfe from that coast, he made his way to the Southeast, & vpon the Saturday he made to landward, howbeit he ranne not so nere the same as he might certainly knowe it, but he perceived by small showres of raine, which fell as they made towards land, & they were on the coast of y<sup>e</sup> Indias, for y<sup>e</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> present time of y<sup>e</sup> yere, y<sup>e</sup> winter is euer in those Indias. The Sunday, being y<sup>e</sup> .xx. day of May the Pilot sawe certaine high hills, which were ouer the Citie of Calicut, and came so nere to land, that he did reknowlege the same, and with great ioy and pleasure, demanded of the Generall Albrycias, saying that this was the land, which he and his companie so greatly desired to see, and come to. The General replenished with ioy of that good fortune, gaue Canaca his demanda, & forthwith went to praier, saying the Salue, wherein they gaue God greates thanks,

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thanks, for this their happie and safe arriual vpon that coast, and in sight of the place, which they so earnestly longed for to see, when praier was done they made great ioy, and feasted on shipboard, and the selfe same daie in the evening, the Generall came to an Ankor (two leagues from Calicut, and immediatly came certeine people of that land in fowze boates called Almaydyas, to our flete, to vnderstand what ships these were, hauing neuer before scene any of that making, come to that coast: These people came all naked, sauing that their members were couered, with little peces of linnen cloath: they are brolne people. At their coming to vs some of them entered into the Generalls shippe, and albeit the Pilot Goserate, tolde him that they were fishermen, a worse kinde of people (for so they call all such as be worse men in the Indias) yet he receyued them all well, and commaunded his men to buye of their fish, which they brought with them: And hauing some talke with them, he did vnderstand that, that towne was not Calicut, for it was they said further off, & offered to carrie our flete thether: Wherevpon the Generall required them so to doe, and therewith departed thence, and were brought by those fishermen to Calicut, which is a Citie situated on the Coast of Malabar, which is a Province of the second Indias, that hath his beginning in the Mount Dely, and endeth at the end of comory, which is in lentgh threescore leagues and one, and fiftene in breadth: All the Countrie lyeth lowe, and is apt to be couered with water: Ther be many Ilandes in the same, & it doth enter into the Sea Indico: There is a verie high hill which diuideth the limits betwene them, and a great kingdome called Narsinga: The Indians do report that this land of Malabar in olde time was maine Sea, and ran as far as y<sup>e</sup> hill where now the Ilands of Maldina are, which were then firme land, & did couer & discover y<sup>e</sup> other of Malabar, in which are many and pleasaunt Cities, & the also very rich, by reason of y<sup>e</sup> trade they haue principaly with the of Calicut, which in riches & vice doth excel al in our time, whose

The Fleet  
arriueth  
at Calicut  
& the ma-  
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whose foundation was on this sort: This Province of Malabar was in the olde time gouerned altogether by one king, who made his abode in the Citie of Conlan, and in the last kings daies of this land (whose name was Saranaperimal, and died sixe hundzeth yeares agoe) the Mozes of Meca discovered the Indias, and came to the Province of Malabar, the inhabitants wherof then were Gentiles, and the king himselfe was a Gentile: From the time of the coming of these Mozes, they beganne to account, the yeares as we account, from y<sup>e</sup> birth of our Lord God: And after they came thether, they grew into such familiaritie with this king, and hee entered into such conference & good opinion of their lawes, that he renounced the manner of religion of his owne Countrie, and minded thence forth to imbrace theirs, and the loue and liking he had of this sect of Mahomet so deeply toke roote, and entered into his heart, that he determined to goe and ende his lyfe, in the house of Meca: Thus being resolved, for the loue he bare to that sect, to abandon and leaue his kingdome for euer, and goe with them, before his departure he imparted to his kinred, and diuided amongst them all his Lordships, and territories, and hauing distributed and giuen the same so farre forth, that there remained to him no more but xii. leagues of his Countrie, which laye nere to the shoare, where he meant to imbarke himselfe, the which was neuer before inhabited, & therfore he then gaue y<sup>e</sup> same to a cousin of his, which then serued him as his Page: commaunding y<sup>e</sup> the same circuit shold be inhabited in perpetuall memorie, of his imbarking there: To the same his kinsman hee also gaue, his sword, & a towell after the Morisco sort, as things appertaining and incident to the estate, & gaue commaundement to all the Gentlemen to whom he had giuen all the rest of his lands, that they should be obedient & true subiects vnto him, and to take him for theyr Emperour, (the kings of Conlan and Canamor onely except) whome also he commaunded and charged, & likewise al the others, that they no; no other Lordes shoulde coine money in the

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Province of Malabar, but onely the King of Calicut. So hauing thus bestowed and giuen his lands, possessions and dignities, as he thought good, and set euery necessary thing in order, for establishing his determinate will and pleasure, he then imbarked himselfe there, wher now Calicut is builded and situated, and for that the King did there imbarke himselfe to go towards y<sup>e</sup> house of Meca, y<sup>e</sup> Mozes then took such deuotion towards that place, that they and all their posteritie euer since that time hetherto would not, nor yet will take any lading but out of that Port. And from that time afterward, they came no more to the Port of Conlan, as vsually they did before, by meane and occasion whereof, the same grew to ruine, and was destroyed, especially when Calicut was once builded, and that many Mozes came and inhabited the same. For as they were Merchants of great dealings, so came they thether, and made there the greatest and richest Faire or Parte of all the Indias, finding there all the Spices, Drugs, Putnecs, and all other things that could be wished, as all kindes of precious stones, pearles, & scode of pearle, Muske, Saunders, Aguila, fine Dishes of earth, Laker, gylted Coffers, and all the fine things of the Chyna, Gold, Amber, Ware, Quorie, fine and coule cotton, as well white as dyed in colours, much rawe silke, & silke twisted, and all kinde of linnen cloth of silke, and golde, and cloth of golde, and cloth of tissew, chaulets, graine, scarlets, carpets of silke, Copper, Quicksilver, Vermilion, Allome, coralls, Rose waters, and all kinde of Conserues, so that there is no kinde of Merchandise of all the world, which coulde be demaunded, but it should be found there. Moreover, it was very quiet, for that it was situated along the Coast, the which lieth almost open, and very dangerous: it is ironed & set round about with many Orchards, in which are many sorts of fruits of that lande, and many hearbes, and excellent waters. Also they haue many Palme trees, and other sorts of trees. In this lande there is but small Hoze of Rice, which is ther a principall victuall, as amongst vs our Wheate is, but there cometh from other places

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great aboundaunce thereof, as in like manner there doeth of other victualls. The Citie is great, and all the houses be of straw, (onely the houses of their Idolls, Chappels, and the Kings houses except) which are of lime and stone, and covered with tyle, for none but they are permitted by theyr lawes to haue anye other manner of building then with strawe. It was inhabited by Gentiles of sundry sects, and by Mores which were great Merchants, and so rich, that some of them had fiftie ships. There is no such season of Winter, but that there may lye in that Harbour fire hundred shippes. They haue there a shoze whether they do carry them with small trauaile, for that they be made without nailes, sowed with ropes of Cayro, and pitched vpon, they haue no quiell, but are flat bottomed.

¶ Of what great power the King of Calicut is, and of his vse and custome: likewise of the other Kings of Malabar, and how the Nayres do liue. Chapter. 14.



That this Citie was of so great a trade, and also the Countrey round about, so inhabited, which increased so largely the Kings rents, it came to passe, that he grew to be so rich of money, and so mightie in power by multitude of people, that in one daye he was able to leaue and make in a readinesse thirtie thousand fighting men, and in thre dayes space, one hundred thousand. They called him Samoryn, which in theyr tongue is Emperour, for so he was among the Kings of Malabar, and there were no more but two beside him: that is to say the King of Coulan and the King of Canauor: For albeit the others were called Kings, yet were they not so.

This

This King of Calicut was a Bramene, as others his Predecessours also were, which amongst the Malabars are Priests, and for that it is a custome and auncient order obserued, that all the Kings doe dye in one Pagode, which is the house of prayers to their Idolls, he is elected for that cause, for alwayes in the same house there must be and is, a King to serue those Idolles, and when he that serueth there doeth dye, then must the King that then raygneth and gouerneth, leaue his Empire, and goe serue in that place as the other did, and into his place and Kingdome, they elect and put an other, that shall so succede him.

The election and succession of the Kings of Calicut.

And if anye of them that is in possession of the Kingdome, refuse to goe into the Pagode, (the King that then serueth in the same being dead) they will then inforce him thereto which so refuseth, although it be against his will. These Kings of Malabar be bryone men, and goe naked from the gyrdell vpwarde, and from thence downewarde, they be covered with cloath of silke and of Cotton: some time they put vpon them shorle gownes, which they doe call Basus of silke or cloath of golde, and of scarlet with very rich stoncs: and especiallly the King of Calicut excelleth in those attires and Iewells. They be shauen, leauing vpon the vpper lip as the Turkes vse, the hayre vnshauen. They be serued but with small estate, especially at theyr meate, whercof they haue but lytle: But the King of Calicut is serued, with greater Estate.

These Kings doe not marrie, nor obserue the Lawe of marriage, but yet they maye haue a Lemman of the house of the Nayres, which amongst the Malabars are Gentlemen, and shee hath hir house by hir selfe, nere to the Wallaice. They doe allowe hir so lyberallye for hir charges and maintenaunce, that she maye haue plentifullye of all thinges to hir contentation, vpon that Stypende assigned byr.

the Kings Lemman with hir state and allowance

And when anye disliking is had of hir by them, they may  
B.ii. alwayes

alwayes leaue hir and such children as they haue by hir, be not taken or accounted for theyrs, neither doe they inherite the Kingdome, nor anye thing of theyrs.

After they be men, they are had in no more estimation, then that is incident vnto them from the mothers bloud and parentage. Their brothers doe inherite if they haue any, if not, then their sisters children shall, who doe not marry, neither yet haue any certaintie of their husbands. They bee very free and at libertie, to chuse those of whom they like, and be such as are best esteemed of. They haue verie great rents allowed them: and when anye of them come to the age of ten yeares, (for at that time they are to be knowne of men) their kinred then doe sende forth out of this kingdome, for a young man Nayre, and presenting him with gifts, earnestly request the same to take hir virginity, who then receiue hir with great ioy, and after she is thus vsed, both tye about hir necke a Jewell, which she doth carry and weare alwayes during hir life, as a thing in great estimation, & for a token of the libertie giuen hir by that act, to do with hir bodie afterward for euer, what she will: for with out this manner of ceremonie, they may not know any mā. These Kings sometimes haue warres one with another, & they in their owne persons goe into the fieldes, yea, and if need so require, they also fight: when they die, they be caried out from their pallaice into a plain field, wher they be burned with great quantitie of wood of sanders & a sweet wood called Aguila. At this burning are alwaies present all his brothers, & nearest kinred, and al the noble men of the countrey. And they make stawe of him from burning after his death thre daies, that they all may repaire thether & come together, to see and biewe whether he came to his death naturallie, or whether he were killed: for if he dyed by force of anye mans hande, then are they bounde to take reuenge thereof.

After hee is burned, and all the ashes buried, they doe all shawe themselves without leauing any haire, yea, euen of the least childe that is a Gentile.

All

All of them in generall doe then cease from eating of Betele, during the space of thirtene daies, and he that doth eate the same infringeth their law, and therefore they will cut his lips, and that by iustice: In all this time, the prince which shall succeed doth not command nor gouerne, which is done of purpose, to see whether in that time anye man will come to saie or object any thing against him. These things and daies, thus done and past, the noble men of the Countrey doe cause him to bee sworne, to all those lawes & customs, which were made by his predecessour, and to pay all his debts: Also that hee shall trauaile to recouer whatsoever things of his kingdome before were lost: This oath he taketh hauing his sworde in his lefte hande, and in the right hande a Candle burning, which hath a ring of golde vpon it, which he toucheth with two of his fingers, and so taketh his oath. This being done, they threue or polue vpon him a few graines of Rice, with many such other ceremonies, in doing wherof they say many prayers, and he worshippeth then the Sunne, thre times, which so done, the Caymayles, that be Lords by parentage doe immediately holding the selfe same Candle, sweare to be true subiects vnto him.

The thirtene daies being ended, they all then doe eate Betele againe, and flesh and fish as before, the king onely except, who then taketh thought and sorroweth for the death of his predecessour: whose manner of mourning is thus: He must not by the space of one whole yeare, eate any flesh or fish, or yet Betele, neither must he shawe his beard, nor cut his nailes, nor eate but once in a daie, and must wash himselfe all his bodie ouer, before he doe eate, and praie certeine houres in the daye: After the yeare is past and ended, he then vseth a certeine ceremonie for the soule of the king his predecessour, which is much like to our Dirge, whereat are assembled an hundred thousand persons, at which time he giueth great almes, when this ceremonie is finished, they then confirme the Prince for inheritor of the kingdome, and so all the people do depart.

h. iii.

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The king of Calicut and all the other kings of Malabar, haue one especiall man that hath the charge for administration of iustice, and doth command & is obeyed in all other matters of gouernement as ample as the king himselve. The men of warre which the king of Calicut & the other kings haue, are Nayres, which be all Gentlemen, and are appointed to no other office or affaires, but to fight when needs requireth. They be all Gentiles, and carrie their armour wherewith they fight themselves, which is bowes, arrowes, speares, daggers made like a hooke, and targets, and march with them very honourably and gallantly, but they goe naked, carrieng onely certeine linnen cloth of coten painted, with the which they couer themselves from the girdle to the knee, they are bare footed: and weare vpon their heads certeine towels. They all liue by the king, and by the noblemen of the countrie, of whome they haue ordinarie stipends and allowance for their maintenaunce: They doe so greatly esteeme and make account of theyr gentrie, and of their cleanness, that they will not touch any husbandman, neither permit any of them to come into their houses. The husbandmen are bound when they goe in the streets to crie with a lowde voyce, and saye, Hoo they goe, for if these Gentlemen doe come, and bid them goe out of the way, and they doe not obey their commaundement therein: then may they kill them: The king cannot make Gentlemen, except they be of the stocke of Gentlemen. They serue very well and faithfully, with them of whome they haue their intertainment, and vnder whose obeyesauce they liue, not sparing by night nor daie, anye opportunitie of time for shewe of their best indeavour in seruice of the same, nor making anye account of meat or of theyr person or of sleepe, whensoever their trauell or diligence, may take effect or purpose of well doing. They haue so small charge and occasion of expence, that with halfe a crowne a peece (which is their ordinarie allowance for one moneth) they may very well and sufficiently mainteine themselves, and each of them a boye to serue him.

The

The Nayres by the lawe of the country, cannot marry, and for that cause they haue no children certain, but those which they haue are begotten of Lemmans, with which theye or some of them do lie, by accord & agreement had and determined amongst themselves, hauing one woman onely to serue that purpose, vnlesse any cause or quarrell growe amongst them, and euerye one of them shall be with her a whole daie, accompting from the one halfe of the daye present wherein he commeth, to the other halfe of the day next following, at which time he departeth from her, and then commeth another, who continueth the lyke time: Thus they passe ouer and spend their life time without care and trouble of wife and children: They mainteine their Lemmans verie well according to their degrees and birth. And if any of them will at any time leaue and forsake her, they may at their pleasure doe it, and likewise she maye refuse anye of them at her will. These women are all Gentlewomen, for the Nayres maye not take anye Countrie women, and they also doe not marrie: And for that there bee so many men to one woman, they take not them for theyr children which bee begotten of her, although the same bee lyke vnto them: and therefore theyr brothers children, doe inherit their lands, and haue their goods: This lawe that these Gentlemen shoulde not marrie, the king ordeined and made, for that they hauing no wiues nor children, on whom they should haue care and fixe their loue, might the better indure the warres, and liue at more libertie to serue in the same.

And because they are Gentlemen, and that they should be the more animated and encouraged to liue in that order, and to serue well, they be so priuiledged, that none of them can be imprisoned for any cause, nor be put to death by any meane of ordinarie iustice: Notobest when one of them doth kill another, or else doth kill a Cowe, (which amongst them is taken for a greate sinne, for that they worshippe them) or sleepe or eate with a countrie woman, or speake euill of the king.

The

The Calicutians kill no kine for they worship them.



Then will the king, hauing true information of any of these offences, giue out his warrant in writing vnder his owne hand, directed to one Nayre, commaunding him therby, that he with two or thre other, doe forthwith kill the Nayre, that hath so offended and sinned, contrarie to the Law: By vertue of which warrant, they helo and cut him with their swordes, wheresoeuer they doe finde him, and when he is dead, they hang vpon him the kings writing, to the end that all men may know and vnderstand wherefore they killed him: These Nayres cannot take their weapons, nor enter into any combat, befoze they be armed knights: when they attaine to the age of seauen yeares, they be forthwith set to learne to play at all weapons, & to the ende they should be very perfect, their Maisters doe hale and wrest the ioyntes of their armes, and afterward they teache them their fence such as be apt for the same: The weaponnes that are most vled amongst them be Swordes and Targets.

The Maisters which teach them, be graduats in the weapons which they teach, and they be called in their language Panycars. They be reuerenced amongst the Nayres, & euery scholler of theirs whatsoeuer, although he be olde, or if he be a great noble man, shall at all times when he seeth him, doe to him reuerence and worship, and this by lawe is ordeined: and further all of them are bound to take at their hands a lesson two monthes in euery yeare, during they liue: By reason whereof they be very perfect and skilful in they weapons, and for that cause they greatly esteeme of themselves.

When any of them will be an armed knight, he then goeth well accompanied with all his kinred and friends, & presenteth himselfe befoze the king, to whome he first offereth thre score Hammons of golde, which is a certeine kinde of money amounting to the value of thre crownes. Where vpon the king doth immediatly aske him, whether he will keepe and obserue the order and custome of the Nayres? Wherevnto he aunswereth and saith, yea. Then he commaundeth to put about him a sword, and laing his right hand

hand vpon his head, saith certaine words as though he wold pray ouer him, which he uttereth so softly as none can heare the same. Afterward he embraceth him, saing in his language these words folowing, which in our tongue, both signifie or meane: Haue a regard to keepe these Bramenes and their Kine. This being done, the Nayre doth fall down and worship the King, and from thence forth he remaineth made Knight. These Nayres when they yelde themselves to liue and serue any King or Noble man, they binde themselves to dye with him, and for him: which bond they doe so well obserue and inuolably keepe, that if their Master in any warre or otherwise be slaine, they will fight untill they are killed, which hath done the same acte, and if at that instant they cannot accomplish their wills, for that they were not present at the deede doing, then will they goe afterward and seeke them out, and neuer leaue them till they be killed by some manner of deuise. They be great southsayers, they haue good dayes and bad dayes, they worship the Sun, the Moone, the fire, and the Kine, and the first that they do meet in going forth of their house in the morning: they doe easily beleue whatsoeuer vanitie. The Diuell is oftentimes in them, but they say it is one of their Gods or Pagodes, for so they call him: but whosoener or whatsoeuer it be, it forceth them to utter terrible words & speeches, which the King doth beleue. And the Nayre in whome the Diuell is so entred, goeth with a naked sword befoze the King, altogether quaking & trembling, giuing himself cuts & wounds saing, I am such a God, and I am come to tell thee such a thing, & in this manner he vseth himselfe, crieng out lyke a mad man: and if the King make any doubt of that he saith & doth not presently giue credite to his speache, then doth he roze & send forth greater cryes & giue himselfe greater cuts, untill such time the King doe beleue him. There be other linages of people of Malabars, which are of diuers sects & customes, whereof to speake were ouer tedious, & too long to declare: all which doe obaye those Kings, (the Mozes onely except) which by reason of the great customes they

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## The Conquest

paye for their Merchandise, are in great estimation among them.

¶ How the Captaine generall sent one of his banished men to Calycut, and how a Moore of Tunis came and spake with him, by whose means he sent a messenger to the King of Calycut, and how he returned answer to the Generall. cap. 15.



**L**he Captaine generall being come to an Anko without the Barre or Recife of Calycut, he sent one of his banished men in the selfe same Almaydes or boats which they brought thether, for two respects: the one to see what Countrey it was: the other to make tryall how we should be receiued, because we were Christians, believing also y<sup>e</sup> the people there were christened: & when this banished man was landed, there came immediately a great number of people to see him as a stranger: they asked of the Malabars which went with him, what he was: who answered, that they deemed him to be a Moze, and that he came with those which are in the three shippes they doe see without the Barre at Anko. Whereof they of Calycut greatly marvelled, for that his apparrell was far different from that which the Mozes y<sup>e</sup> come from y<sup>e</sup> Straights, doe use to weare. Thus flocked about him much people, & some that had the Algaruia tongue, spake vnto him, but he hauing no vnderstanding thereof could not nor did make any answer or speeches vnto them, at which also they in like manner greatly marvelled, for that being a Moze (as they deemed) he did not vnderstand the Algaruia language: neuerthelesse going with him in this manner, and verely yet believing he was a Moze, they carried him to the house of two Mozes, which were naturally borne in Tunys in Barbarie, and were then come to dwell in Calicut. To whom being brought, one of them whose name was Bontaybo could speake the Spanish tongue, & did well knowe the

Bontaybo  
a Moore of  
Barbarie,  
dwelling  
in Calicut

## of the East India.

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the Portugals as he said afterward, hauing seen them in Tunys in the time of y<sup>e</sup> King Don Ioan in the ship called Larcyna which the same King sent thether many times to seeke for such things as he and his subjects hadde neede of. And as soon as the banished man was entered into their house, the Moze spake vnto him and sayd: I giue thee to the Dinell, who brought thee hether, which words was uttered in y<sup>e</sup> Spanish tongue. And after he asked him what way he had gone and trauielled, that he was come to this place: wherevnto the banished man answered & told him, shewing also, how many ships the Generall had ther, whereat Bontaybo marvelled, and wondered how they could come by Sea thether. Then he asked him what they sought so farre off? And he answered that they came to seeke Christians and spices. Whereupon Bontaybo asked why y<sup>e</sup> Kings of Fraunce and Spaine, & the Duke of Venice did not also sende thether: Whereunto the banished man made answer, that y<sup>e</sup> King of Portugale would not giue his consent they should so doe: Bontaybo replieng thereto, sayde, that he did well & wisely therein. Thus hauing talked a while, he gaue him very good entertainment, and commaunded to giue him certaine Cakes, made of the flower of Wheate, which the Malabars do call Apes, and with the same honnie. After he had well eaten, Bontaybo aduised him to go to the ships, & said he would goe with him, (as indeede he did) to see y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall. And being come to the Admirall which was then entered, Bontaybo then began to say to the General in Spanish: Good lucke, good lucke, many Rubies, many Emeraulds: thou art bound to giue great thanks to God, for that he hath brought thee where there is all kinde and sorts of spices, stones, and all the riches of the world.

When they hearde him so saye, they all marvelled greatly thereat, for they before would not haue believed, that there hadde bene anye man so farre off from Portugale, that coulde vnderstande theyr language.

Wherefore with weeping teares which they then plentifully

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ly shed for ioye and pleasure they had conceiued, as well for the same, as also for their safe and happie arriual there, they then gaue to God most humble and heartie thanks through whose onely fauour, good will, and pleasure, that good lucke and great good benefite, had happened to them. And then the Generall imbraced Bontaybo, and caused him to sit downe by him, asking him if he were a Christian, and how he came to Calicut? For aunswere whereto he More told him of whence he was, and what he was, and how he came to Calicut by the way of Cayro, also he shewed him by what meanes he came to knowledge of Portingals, and that alwaies he had bene a friend to them, for that in all respects & at all times, their doings & manners appeared to him to be good and worthy of friendship. Finally he sayde, that as he had in time past bene a friend to them, so would he now at this present continue his good will, and was ready and would be to doe all that in him was to pleasure & further them, and the effect of their purpose in comming thither. The Captaine generall gaue him great thanks, and promised to recompence him very liberally in respect of that his good will, and for any pleasure or friendship he shoulde thenceforth shew to him and his company, he shuld be wel assured to be thankfully considered of. Declaring also that he was the most ioyfull man of all the world to finde him there, and to haue him for a friend and an ayde, verely believing that God had sent him thither, to giue an ende to the enterprize of the voyage, which he so desired in discovering of those Indias, and had entered into, and passed through so many daungers by long tract of time to attaine vnto the same, and now notwithstanding his arriual ther, he thought to haue but small frutte of his traualle, without his helpe & friendly furtheraunce.

Then he requested him to declare, what manner of man the King of Calicut was, and whether he thought he would receiue him with good wil as an Embassadour from the King of Portingale.

Bontaybo answered, that the King of Calicut, was

was a very good man and of an honourable disposition, and that he no doubt would receiue him gladly, for Embassadour, from a straunge king, especially if his comming were to settle and intreate for establishment of tract or trade of merchaundise in Calicut, and had brought with him any kinde of Merchaundise for that purpose: For (said Bontaybo) as there doth grow great aduantage and profit by some thereof to the king, so is the same indeede the very principall rents or reuenues he hath for his mainteynaunce: Moreover he informed the Generall that the king at that instant was in a certaine village five leagues from Calicut, situated along the coast, named Panane, whether he aduised him to send vnto him, & to declare of his arriual and comming thither. The Generall very well liking of the speeches and aduise of Bontaybo, did therefore giue vnto him certaine gifts, and sent with him two of his men in message to the king of Calicut, requesting Bontaybo to direct them on their waye to Panane, which he accordingly did. These messengers being now come before the king, one of them whose name was Fernan Martyn, by an interpreter which he had, declared vnto him, that he came from his Captaine who is arriued in the port of Calicut with certaine shippes, and is come thither from the king of Portingale, of purpose to bring him letters, which the same Captaine is readie to come and present vnto him, if it so stode with his good liking and pleasure, whereof to vnderstand he then had sent him, and his selfe there present. The king hearing this message, commaunded before he would make aunswere thereto, to giue to each of them a certaine peece of linnen cloth made of Cotton, and two of silke which were very good, and such such wherewith he was accustomed to girdle himselfe: And after these peeces were so giuen them, he then demanded of Fernan Martyn, what king that was which hadde sent him those letters, and how farre from thence his kingdom was, wherevnto Fernan answered and fully informed him touching that demand, declaring also that he was

The king of Calicut cuts greatest reuenue rise by custome of Merchaundise.

Certaine messengers sent by the Captaine generall to the king of Calicut

a Christian prince, & that all those whom he had sent were christians, having past many troubles and daungers upon the sea, before their arrivall there at Calicut. The king hearing all the discourse of their voiage (wherof Fernan Martynes somewhat at large informed him) did greatly marvell at the same, & shewed himselfe to be right glad, & a Prince of so great a power as the king of Portingale was, & being also a christian, would send an Ambassadour to him: And therefore he sent word to the Generall that he and his companie were hartely welcome into his Countrie, requiring him to bring his ships to an ankoze neere, to a village named Padarane (which is somewhat beneath the place where they first came to an ankoze) being a far better harbour then that of Calicut, which is an open roade & very dangerous for the ships: And appointed that from thence, the Generall should go by land to Calicut, wher he wold be to speak with him: And therw he sent a Pilot, who conuaid the ships to the port of the same village, howbeit when he had conducted them to the bar thereof, the Generall woulde not enter so far within the same, as the Pilot would gladly haue had him to haue done, fearing indeed that some thing might afterwards happen to his preiudice, if he should give ouer farre credit to those people, & came within the compasse of anye their forces, wherin he dealt very aduisedly and wisely, preuented such iniury as was offered him.

How the king of Calicut sent for the Captaine Generall and after what sort he was carried to Calicut. Cap. 16.



The Captaine being come neere to this harbour, his dispatch was sent him from the Captuall of Calicut, in which there was signified that he was come to Pandarane, by the kings commaundement, with other noble men, for to beare him company vnto Calicut, and therefore he might at all times when he should please

please him, disimbarke himself: But for the day was past the Captaine Generall excused himselfe as at present, & also that he would first take counsell of his Captaines, & other the principall of his fleet, touching his landing, who being all ioynd together, said vnto them, that he minded to go to see the king of Calicut, & to settle there a trade, and a perpetuall friendship. Against the which his going, his brother repugned, alledging that it was not conuenient that he should so doe. For albeit that they were christians, yet that they were amongst them many Moors, which were to be feared least they wold procure his destruction, since that they were his mortall enemies. For when that they doe remember how those of Monsambicke and Mombassa, for onely passing by they ports, would haue killed them all: What should they looke for, of those of Calicut, knowing that they will mixture themselves with you & yours: quoth he, you seeking to haue the trade where they haue the same, & so to diminish this their profit and gaine: He tolde him therefore that it is the sower to be belaued, that they wold procure with all their force possible to destroy him, yea, although they knew that the beginning and end of the same did depend vpon his death, and that therefore there woulde not lacke wayes to put the same deuice in execution, who being once dead, for all the grieue the king should take therewith, yet he could not raise him againe to lyfe. And that so much the more they being as it were naturall inhabitauntes there, and he a mere stranger.

Moreouer who doth know what the king doth passe for his death, and what shall become of them all after the same is procured. And if so be that they should be cast away altogether, then were all theyr trauaile lost. To excuse all this, and that they might remaine vpon this good assurance, it were very good sayd he, that he did not goe ashore, but that he did sende one of them, or some other, who might doe that which he should doe, for those that are Captaines in especiall Generalls should not aduventure themselves in such daungers, but where there were

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such great necessitie, that they coulde not otherwise excuse themselves. Of this minde were all the rest of the compaignie, vnto whome the Captaine Generall answered, that although he knewe or did vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> by his comming it were present death vnto him, yet he woulde not let but goe and visit the King of Calicut, and the rather to see whether he would settle a friendship and trade there, and to haue out of his Citie, Spices and other commodities, for that the same (at our arriual in Portingale) might represent as a witnesse the discouerie of Calicut. For if so be that at the end of so long a time God did returne vs thether with out: then said he, it would be hard to be beleued, that we had discovered Calicut: And our credit and honour woulde stand in suspence or ballance, vntill such time there should come persons of credit from thence, that shoulde declare that to be true which we had affirmed. Therefore doe you not thinke but y<sup>e</sup> I had rather die then suffer so long time, as we haue spent, and are lyke to spend, and others shall come to discouer y<sup>e</sup> truth of our seruice: so that in the meane while, those that are enuious, should iudge our trauaile as it shuld please them, certainly I had rather die then to tarrie vpon the same: Much moze friends I doe not aduenture my selfe to so great a daunger of death as you do surmise, neither yet that they shoulde remaine in so great daunger, as you doe presuppose, for I goe to a Countrey where there are Christians and to talke with a king, which is desirous that vnto his Citie should come many Merchants, for the profit that doth arise thereby vnto him: for the moze Merchants that do resorte vnto it, the moze wil be his profit. I doe not goe thether to stay there many daies that the Mozes shall haue any such time to vse anye treason against me. And for so much as I doe minde to talke with the king it shall haue an end, and that within thre dayes, and in this time you may be in a readinesse: And as touching the honour and credit that I shall get by making or establishing this trade, if it please God: that he doe accept the same I will not giue it for any treasure. And the king

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can settle the same with no other better then with me, for that he will esteeme me, and beare some reuerence towards me, being once knowen vnto him that I am the Captaine generall of this Flote, and the King of Portugales Embassadour, rather then with any other person whatsoeuer. Furthermoze whosoever he be that shall goe in my flote, the King will thinke himselfe to be mockt, or that I do not esteeme him, as one that is worthy that I shoulde goe to speake with him, or els that I doe not trust him in his word. Besides all this, I cannot giue so large instructions to him that I should send thether, that he might doe in all things which is needfull as much as I my selfe: and if so be that for my sinnes he shoulde kill me, or take me as a prisoner, it were a great deale better for me that ther shuld chaunce to me all this for doing of my dutie, then to remaine anye, and not to doe the same. And you my friends remaining in the Sea and in good ships, as soone as you shall heare that any of these things shall chaunce vnto me, get you hence, and carrie newes of this our discouerie, and as touching this, let there be no farther talke, for that I by the grace of God will goe to Calicut to see the King. When that his determination was perceined, they all assented that they were contented with his going: and therevpon they appointed him twelue of his men to goe with him, that is to say, Diego Dias his Secretarie and Fernan Martines the interpretour, Iohn de Sala, which was after ward Treasurer of the house of the Indias, &c. So that with him in all they were thirtene. They appointed also that in his absence ther should remaine for Captaine generall his brother. Also he gaue commaundement that he shoulde not suffer any man to come aboard his ship, and all those that were desirous to goe aboard to commaund them to remaine in their boate or Almadias. Mozeouer he left order with Nicholas Coello, that he shoulde come euery day with his boate as nere vnto y<sup>e</sup> shore as he could. These things being settled, the next day after being Mundaye, the xxviij. of May, the Captaine generall did imbarke himself with those twelue before rehearsed,

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The Generall determined to goe to Calicut

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they all being apparailled in the best attire that they had ; & their boat es furnished with much ordinance, flagges, and trumpets, which went alwaies sounding, untill such time y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general came to land, wheras y<sup>e</sup> Catuall was far-rieng for him, being accompanied with 200 Nayres, which attended ther continually: besides many others y<sup>e</sup> wer not of that company, & besides many also, y<sup>e</sup> were of y<sup>e</sup> towne. The Captaine generall being disembarked, was ioyfully receiued of y<sup>e</sup> Catuall, & of y<sup>e</sup> others y<sup>e</sup> did accompany him, as though they were very glad of his comming, & after y<sup>e</sup> he was thus receiued, he was taken into an Ando<sup>2</sup>, which y<sup>e</sup> King of Calicut had sent to bring him vpon, for y<sup>e</sup> in this countrey they are not accustomed to goe a horsebacke, but in these Ando<sup>2</sup>s, which are like vnto a ho<sup>2</sup>slitter, sauing y<sup>e</sup> they are about any corner ouer them, & almost plaine, y<sup>e</sup> sides therof are also very low. Each of these Ando<sup>2</sup>s, when they will occupie y<sup>e</sup> same, are caried w<sup>th</sup> 4. men vpon their sholders, which also doth run post w<sup>th</sup> thē, at such time as y<sup>e</sup> king & noble men do make any great iourney, or if so be y<sup>e</sup> they wil go a great ground in a small time : for they may trauell in y<sup>e</sup> same either sitting or lieng, as they wil themselves. Also ther go with these certain footmen, which carie with them hats, wherewith to couer those y<sup>e</sup> go in these Ando<sup>2</sup>s, which they do call Bueys, so that by this meanes, they are kept from y<sup>e</sup> sunne & the raine, ther are also other Ando<sup>2</sup>s, y<sup>e</sup> which haue ouer thē a cane bowed like vnto a hope, which for y<sup>e</sup> they are made very slight, may easily carie those 2. men. The Captaine generall being moued in this Ando<sup>2</sup>, departed w<sup>th</sup> the Catuall, who was carried in another Ando<sup>2</sup>, to a towne called Capocate, but all y<sup>e</sup> rest of the cōpany went afoote, the people of the country was cōmaunded by the Catuall to carie all such apparel as our mē had brought vpon w<sup>th</sup> thē, which was ther redeliuered vnto thē, & being in Capocate, they staid to refresh themselves: where the Captaine generall being in one house & the Catuall in another they did eate, & to al our men was giuen to eat sodden fish, w<sup>th</sup> rice & butter, besides fruits of y<sup>e</sup> countrey, which differ from ours very much, yet they are very good. The one

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sort of these is called Lacas, and the other Mangas, howbeit they haue figs also. The water y<sup>e</sup> they did drinke, was very excellent, as good as any in Portingal. Thus after they had eaten, they went againe to imbarke themselves, for that they shuld go vpon a riuer, which from thence runneth into the sea: the Captaine generall did imbarke himselfe with his company into 2. Alinadias, lieng the one close to the other, which in y<sup>e</sup> countrey they did call Enlangada. The Catuall w<sup>th</sup> his traine were imbarked in many others, and the people that came to the riuers side to see and view our men were without number, for so much as that countrey is well inhabited. And after that they had gone in this riuer about a leagur, and that along the shozes side, they saw lieng a ground many great ships, the Captaine generall with the Catuall being disembarked, did returne to their Ando<sup>2</sup>s, and following their waye, there resorted alwayes about them thousandes of people to see them, wherein they tooke such a felicitie that the very women also with their children hanging at theyr backs, did not seele the waye they went in, following to feed their eyes. From this place which I haue made mention of, the Catuall did carrie him vnto a certaine Pagode of their Idolls, into which when they were entred, he told him that the same was a Church of great deuotion, which the Captaine generall beleued to be true, & to be some church of the Christians, & therfore he gaue the more credit therevnto, the rather for that he saw y<sup>e</sup> ouer the principall doore therof, there hanged seuen little bells, & afoze the same there was a pillour made of wier, the which was as high as the mast of a ship, vpon the top thereof there stode a wether cock, made likewise of wier. This church was as great as a good Honestary, and was made all of free stone, and couered ouer with bricke, which gaue an outwarde shewe, as though within side it shoulde be of verie faire wo<sup>2</sup>kman-shippe. Our Captaine was very glad to see the same, for that he thought himselfe to be among Christians, and entering within this Church with the Catuall, they were receiued by certaine men, naked from the girdle vwarde,

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and from thence downe to the knee, couered with certaine linnen cloth made of cotten, with y<sup>e</sup> which their arme holes were couered also, without any thing vpon their heads, and vpon their left sholders they had certaine number of thrids, which came vnder their right shoulders, much like as the Priests were wont to weare their stoles here amongst vs, when they went to Masse. These men are called Cafres and are Gentiles, which serue in Malabar in their Pagodes, who with a sprinkle toke water out of a certaine fountaine & threwo the same vpon the Captaine generall & vpon the Catuall and on the rest of the companye. After all this they gaue them Saunders in powder to cast the same vpon their heads as they did here their Ashes, & as also they shuld do y<sup>e</sup> like vpon y<sup>e</sup> brauens of their armes, but they could not do so, by reason of their apparel which they had on, but yet they did not let to doe it on their heads: so going about this Church, they saw many Images painted vpon y<sup>e</sup> wal, where of some ther wer y<sup>e</sup> had great teeth, which appeared to be so monstrous y<sup>e</sup> they were of an inch of length without their mouth. Others ther wer y<sup>e</sup> had foure armes, & therewith wer so ill fauoured, that they seemed to be very diuells, y<sup>e</sup> which sight made our men stand in doubt, whether the same wer a Church of Christians or no. Being come afoze the Chappell which stood in y<sup>e</sup> midst of their Church, they perceiued y<sup>e</sup> the same had a certain little rofe, made much after y<sup>e</sup> manner of a tower, y<sup>e</sup> which was also builded of free stone, & in a parte of this rofe ther was a doze made of wire, by y<sup>e</sup> which a mā might enter into it: the going by to the same tower, was by a staire of stone: within this tower, which indeed was somewhat dark, was inclosed in y<sup>e</sup> wall a certain Image y<sup>e</sup> which our men beheld a far off, for y<sup>e</sup> they would not suffer the to go nere y<sup>e</sup> same, saing y<sup>e</sup> ther was none y<sup>e</sup> could go thether, but those y<sup>e</sup> wer Cafres, holobeit they made a signe to the Image, naming y<sup>e</sup> same our Lady, giuing therby to vnderstand that it was hir Image. The Captaine generall supposing the same to be true, fell vpon his knees, with y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> company making their prayers: but one whose name was Iohn de Sa-

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la, being in doubt whether y<sup>e</sup> same church wer of christians or not, for y<sup>e</sup> he saw so monstrous Images painted on y<sup>e</sup> wals, as he fel on his knees said, If this be y<sup>e</sup> diuel, I worship god. The Captaine Generall that heard him say so, looking vpon him laughing. The Catuall and his companie as they came befoze this Chappell, did fall downe flat vpon the ground with their hands befoze them, and this they did thre times, and after ward they arose and made their prayers standing.

¶ How and after what sort the Captaine Generall was receiued in Calicut, & how hee tolde the king his message which he carried. Cap. 17.



From this place he went forward on his way, vntill such time he came to Calicut, and at the entering of the same, they carried him to the rest of his company to another Pagode, lyke vnto that which he had scene befoze, and when that he would haue entered into the Citie, the people were so many, as well of those that came forth of the same for to see our men, as also of those that went with him, that for the multitude of them, he could not goe in the streets, insomuch that the Generall meruailed to see so many people: and when as hee sawe himselfe to be there, he gaue God great thanks, for bringing him vnto that Citie, most humbly desiring him, so to guide him, that he might returne to Portingale, with his whole request & desire. After that he had gone awhile in that strate, into which he entered, for that the people wer so many that he could not passe through it, insomuch that those that did carry him vpon his Andor, were driven to go with the Catuall into a house. Whether came to beare the Captaine Generall companie, the Catualls brother who was a noble man, and sent by the kings commaundement to accompanie him to the kings pallaice, who also brought with him many Nayers, and befoze them went manye Trumpets and Sagbuts, vpon the which they went all

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sounding. And also there was one Nayre which carried a Calceuer which he shot of, now & then. After y<sup>e</sup> the Captaine generall & this noble man was thus ioyfully receiued, they toke their way straight to y<sup>e</sup> pallaice, with a great noise, y<sup>e</sup> which those instruments & the people together made, which after y<sup>e</sup> the Catuals brother was come, gaue place & followed after them, with as great obedience as if y<sup>e</sup> king had ben there in his owne person. There went along with the fully three thousand men with their weapons, besides those y<sup>e</sup> stood vpon y<sup>e</sup> penthouses, & at their dozes, which wer wout number. The Captaine generall was very glad to see how well he was receiued, & said vnto those y<sup>e</sup> he caried w<sup>th</sup> him, with a mery countenance, how litle do they thinke in Portingale of this our gret receiuing, & with this they came to y<sup>e</sup> kings pallaice an houre before y<sup>e</sup> Sun set. The kings pallaice (leaving aside y<sup>e</sup> the same was made of earth) was very great, which seemed to be of a goodly building, for y<sup>e</sup> great multitude of trees which did appeare betwene y<sup>e</sup> houses, & these wer standing in goodly gardes, in y<sup>e</sup> which wer plesant flowres, sweet hearbs, & fountains of water to recreate y<sup>e</sup> king w<sup>th</sup>all, for y<sup>e</sup> he neuer goeth frō this pallaice til y<sup>e</sup> he departeth from Calicut. Out of this pallaice there came sundry Caimales, & other noble men to receiue y<sup>e</sup> captain general, which brought him to a certein gret court y<sup>e</sup> was right before y<sup>e</sup> gates, & frō thence they wēt into 4. other seuerall yards or courts. At y<sup>e</sup> gate of each of which, ther wer .x. porters, which gates they passed w<sup>th</sup> giuing y<sup>e</sup> people many & sundry blows, which y<sup>e</sup> porters bestowed vpon the to make roime, y<sup>e</sup> we might go in: & being come to y<sup>e</sup> last gate which was in y<sup>e</sup> house where the king himself was, ther came forth an old little man, which was Bramene Maior of y<sup>e</sup> kings house, who imbraced the captaine general, & caried him in w<sup>th</sup> those y<sup>e</sup> wer with him. Bramene Maior is the kings high Priest, & the chiefest of the religious mē of his gentility. At this entring the people wonderfully pressed theselues to go in, for that they see the king but by great chaunce, as going but few times abroad out of his pallaice, & wold therefore haue entered w<sup>th</sup> our mē to see him. The multitude was so great y<sup>e</sup> there wer some of

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The description of the kings pallaice,

the stilled, as also ther had ben two of our mē so used, if so be y<sup>e</sup> they had not gone before, & it had smally profited to lay on y<sup>e</sup> people w<sup>th</sup> their stances to y<sup>e</sup> end to make more roime, if so be ther had not ben many of the hurt, wherw<sup>th</sup> they gaue place y<sup>e</sup> our mē might enter. Moreover those noble mē which did accompany the Captaine general, at this third gate entered into the house wher the king was, the which was very great: all the same was compassed about w<sup>th</sup> seats made of timber, one about y<sup>e</sup> other as the Theatres are: the floore of the same was all couered ouer w<sup>th</sup> greene velvet, & the hangings about the wals were of silke of sundry colours. The king himself was of colour brown, & of a great stature & of good yeres, he was lieng vpon his Estrado y<sup>e</sup> which was couered ouer w<sup>th</sup> a cloth of white silke & gold & a rich estate ouer him, Estrado is a seat made of boards. On his head he had a night cap, made much like vnto a salet, after y<sup>e</sup> old sort which was couered ouer w<sup>th</sup> stone & pearle, & in his ears he ware ieiwels of y<sup>e</sup> same sort. He had vpon him a iacket of fine cotton, y<sup>e</sup> buttons wherof were of great pearle, & the button holes were of gold thread, he had about his middle a white cloth made of y<sup>e</sup> forsaide cotton, y<sup>e</sup> which reached down vnto his knees, y<sup>e</sup> fingers of his hands & toes wer ful of rings of gold, in y<sup>e</sup> which were set very fine stone, & on his armes & legs many bracelets of golde: hard to this Estrado, there was a certein yewer y<sup>e</sup> which had a high foot wrought all of gold, & is of y<sup>e</sup> making of y<sup>e</sup> Flanders cups, & that plaine, albeit they are greater & not so deepe: in this was y<sup>e</sup> Vitele which the king doth chaw in his mouth, w<sup>th</sup> salt & Areca, which is an apple no bigger the a nut in Conserua. This is eatē in all y<sup>e</sup> Indias, for y<sup>e</sup> the same doth make a good breth, drieth y<sup>e</sup> stomack & killeth y<sup>e</sup> thirst, which being chawed in partes he throweth y<sup>e</sup> same out of his mouth, & taketh another. And for y<sup>e</sup> the king shuld not swallow y<sup>e</sup> same downe, there is prepared a vessel of gold for him to spit in, which is as big or litle bigger the a dish, hauing a foot also of gold. Also he hath a fountaine of gold which is ful of water wherw<sup>th</sup> he washeth his mouth, when he had made an end of chawing this Vitele which he is accustomed to take.

The description of y<sup>e</sup> kings pience chamber.

the kings Vitele.

This

This Vitele is ministred vnto him by an olde man which standeth hard by the Estrado, all the others that are in this place holde their left hands afoze their mouths, to the end their breath should not come where the king is, who taketh the same for great discourtesie, to spit or to sciese, & therefore there is none that breatheth afoze the king. The Captaine General being come into this house, made reuerence to the king, after the vse of the Countrie, which is to stowe or bowe downe thre times, lifting vp his hands as one that praiseth God. The king immediatly made signes vnto him as willing him to drawe nere vnto him, and commaunded him to sit downe in one of those seates which I haue spoken of, who being thus set, the rest of his men did enter and made him the lyke reuerence, whom the king commaunded likewise to sit downe right ouer against him, and that there should be giuen them water for their hands, that they might with the same refresh themselves since they were very hot, for although it was winter yet it was hot. After y they had washed their hands, he commaunded to be giuen them figges and Iacas to eate, and that forthwith, which they did receiue with a good will. The king was very glad to see them eate, who was very earnest in looking vpon them, and did laugh thereat. Afterward hee tooke occasion to talke with the old man that ministred vnto him this Vitele, and in the meane time our men did cal for water, for that they were a thirst, the which was giuen them to drinke by an Pewer of golde, and when our men did vnderstand y order of their drinking was to hold their cup of height ouer their mouths, for y the Malabars do take the same for an iniurie to touch y cup with their lips, they did therefore hold the same ouer their mouth, in that order that part of the water fell into their throates & made some of them to cough, & vnto others it fell besides their mouths, and vpon their faces, which did runne downe vpon theyr breasts. All this the king was very gladde to see, who looking towards the Captaine Generall, spake vnto him by an interpretour, willing him to speak vnto those that were there

The custome in drinking.

there, & to tell them his pleasure, & likewise to report vnto him of theirs, with this the Captaine General was nothing contented, for y he thought the same a disgracing vnto him, & answered by y interpretour y he was the king of Portingales Ambassadour, which was a mighty king, & that the christian princes did not vse to receiue their imbasage by a third person, but by themselves, & that before very few, & those y were of great credit. And for that he did accustome the same order in y other countries from whence he came, he wold not therefore vtter his imbasage but only vnto y king himself, vnto which the king answered y he liked wel therof, & that it shuld be so obserued, & immediatly he commaunded the Captaine Generall & Fernan Martines to be carried vnto another chamber which was adorned with y like estate as the other was, & as wel hanged, & after y the Captaine general was ther, y king came thether also, but our men remained where they wer first, & this was about the Sun set. The king as sone as he was come into this chamber went to his Estrado, there came no more with him but his interpretour & the Bramene Mayor, & the olde man which doth alwayes giue this Vitele vnto y king, & controller of his house. The king & they being ther together, he asked of y captain general of what part of y world he was & what he wold haue: wher vnto he answered, that he was an Ambassadour of a christian king of y Occident part, & of a kingdome called Portingale, besides many others, inso much y he is of a great power both in possessions & people, & much more in riches, & all other things necessarie, more then any other king of those parts, & hath so ben for y space of these lx. yeres, so y those y haue ben kings his predecessours, hauing the same brought vnto them, how y in the Indias there were christian kings & great noble men, in especiall y king of Calicut, they were moued the rather to send to discouer y same by their Captaines, & to make friendship with the king of y country, & to take them for brothers as reason doth bind the king his Maister now to do, & to visit them by his Ambassadors, not y he hath any need of their riches,

The message that was sent to y king of Calicut from y king of Portingale

riches, for that in his owne countries of golde & siluer and other things of great value, he hath moze therof then neede did require. And as for those Captaines whom he did send vnto this discouerie, they haue gone in the same a yeaere or two, vntill such time as they haue consumed their victuals and without finding of that which they sought for, haue returned to Portingale, & haue in vaine spent great sums of money. But the king Don Manuel which reigneth as now, & is desirous to make an end of this enterprize, which was begun so long time ago, for that to them ther shuld not lack sufficient victuals, as there did vnto the others before, did therfore giue him three shippes that were laden therewith, commaunding him not to returne to Portingale without the discouery of that king of the christians which is Lord of Calicut. And if so be y he shuld returne without bringing him relation therof, he would then commaund his head to be cut off. And further he willed him y if so be y he should chaunce to arrive at the place where the king was, to deliuer him two letters, which he wold present vnto him the next day, for y it was then somewhat late. And also that he should tell him that he was his friend & brother, requesting him that since that he doth send so far of to seeke him out, that in recompence thereof he would accept of his kindred, and friendship, and also that he would send him his Ambassadour for the better confirmation of the same, and y fro thence forth they wold visit one the other with their embassadours, as it is accustomed amongst christian kings. The king shewed himselfe to bee well pleased with this Ambassage, for he tolde the Captaine Generall that bee was very well welcome. And since that the king of Portingale would be his friend & brother, he would be the like vnto him, and vpon the same wold send him his Ambassadour, which thing the Captaine Generall did desire most earnestly, for that he durst not shew himselfe afoze y king his Passer vnto him. The king did therfore promise him so to do, & that forthwith, he wold dispatch him thither. After y he was desirous to know y whole estate of y king of Por-

An Ambassadour promised from Calicut.

Portingale particularly, & how far of y countrie laye from Calicut, & how long he had ben vpon that boiage. And for y part of the night was well spent, y king willed him to retire, demanding of him first, whether he would goe lye amongst the Moores or amongst the Christians, who answered that he wold lye with neither of them, but alone, & by himselfe. The king vpon his answer commanded a certein Moore which was his factor to go & accompany y Captaine general, & commaunded to giue him all things y wer necessary.

How the Captaine Generall was minded to sende a present to the king, but his company would not consent to the same, & how the Moores began to bring the Captaine generall out of credit with the king. cap. 18.



The Captaine generall being dispatched to go toward his lodging (although y foure houres of the night were past) the Captaine & the others y had accompanied him before, did now the like, & they all going afoot, ther felt such raine, that y streets ran full therof, & therfore he was driuen to commaund some of his men to carry him vpon their backs, (not for the water only) but for y it would be late or euer y he could come to his lodging, with this y Captaine generall was so angry, y he complained vpon y kings factor, demanding whether he meant to carry him about the citie all y night or not, who answered y he could do no otherwise, for y y city was great & scattered, & so he carried him to his owne house, to rest himselfe a while. And afterward he gaue him a horse, vpon y which he might ride. And for y this horse was without a saddle, y Captaine wold not accept the offer, saying, y yet rather he wold go a foot, & so he went vntill such time he came to his lodging, where those y did accompany him, left him in a good lodging. And before his coming, his men had brought thither his stuffe, where y Captaine generall hauing rested himselfe, & being in great ioy to see so good beginning of his businesse, determined on the next day being Twelwaile, to send a present to the king.

¶ ii.

And

A present  
for y<sup>e</sup> king  
of Calicut.

And for that he knew he could not send the same, but that the Factor and the Catuall should haue the oversight thereof, did therefore sende for them that they might haue the view thereof, who being come, he shewed the same vnto them, which was foure Capis of graine, and five battes, foure byaunches of Gozall, twelue Almasares, a fardell of Bzasse, in the which there were seauen paces, a Chest of Sugar, two Barrells of Oile, & two of honnie. The Factor and the Catuall hauing seene these parcels, began to laugh therat, saing, that y<sup>e</sup> same was nothing to present the king withall, for that the poorest Merchant that commeth to his port doth giue him much more then the same, wishing him that since he would needs giue him a present, to sende him some golde, for that the king woulde not accept any other thing. At this their answer the Captaine general was offended, & so he shewed himselfe to be, saing, that if so be he were a Merchant: or that his comming thither were to trade, he would then haue brought him golde: But he was no Merchant but an Ambassadors, which was the cause he brought none with him, & that this which he doth now send to y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut, is his own goods, & not y<sup>e</sup> king his Masters, who for that he did not certainly know that hee should haue met with the king of Calicut, did therefore giue him nothing to present him withall: but at his next returne knowing for certaintie that he shall finde him, the king his Master will send him golde, silver, & other rich things. To this they answered and sayd that it might be so, howbeit it was accustomed in that countrie, y<sup>e</sup> whatsoeuer stranger he be that doth come & speake with the king, he sendeth him a present, which is according to y<sup>e</sup> greatnes of his estate. Vnto which the Captaine generall did reply, saing y<sup>e</sup> it was good y<sup>e</sup> their custome shuld be kept, & that for the preseruatiō of the same, he did make him this present, which is of no greater value, for the cause aboue said: And therefore he desired them to suffer him to carrie the same to the king, which if so be y<sup>e</sup> they would not let him doe that, then he would send the same backe to his shippes againe.

They

They answered him that immediately he might so do, as he last determined, for that they would not consent that the same should be carried to the king. With this answer the Captaine generall was very angry, and said vnto them, that since they would not consent that he should sende that present to the king, he would therefore go himselfe & speak with him, and would now returne to his ships. This was his meaning, to enforme the king what had past about this present. They said y<sup>e</sup> it was well done so to do, but for so much as they should remaine with him in the Court a good while, it were for them very necessary to goe about a little businesse in the meane space, which they will go to doe, and immediately retourne to goe with him, since that the king wold not be pleased that he shuld go without them: for so much as he was a stranger, and for that there were many Mozes in the Citie. The Captaine generall giuing credite to their words concerning their retourne, immediately answered them that he would tarry for their comming: but they did not returne all that daye, for that they were enemies to the Captaine generall, by reason of the Mozes, who were his enemies also, and had receiued newes what he had done in Monfambioke, and of the taking of the Sambuco in Mylynde, and that we were Christians, and that our comming was to discover Calicut. Bontaybo also told the Mozes, that Spices were esteemed in Portingale very much, and that as he iudged they wer not come to discover Calicut, but to settle there a trade, and to carrie Spices into their Countrey, in the which there is of all sorts of Merchants that come to Calicut by the way of the Straights, and great store of golde and silver, and hauing the Trade settled there, woulde redowne vnto the king great profite thereby. To the which words the Mozes gaue great care, and made their reckoning vpon Bontaybos speech, and allowed the same: What we being Christians and once came to settle a Trade in Calicut, their commoditie then wold fall of the price they were at, and so wold abate the most part of their gaine. About this they layed their heads together,

Treason  
conspired  
against  
the fleet

P. lii.

ther,



the Moors  
oratio to  
the king

ther, to worke all meanes they could possible with the king, to take the Captaine generall prisoner, and to commaunde his ships to be taken also, and to kill all our men, and this the rather, for that in no wise they should retourne to Portingale, to carry newes of Calicut. And hereupon they toynd those that were in credit with the king, and went vnto him, and one in the name of them all, said vnto the king: That he shoulde not deceiue himselfe with our men, for that the Captaine Generall was no Embassadour but a theefe, that went to rob, which they knew for most certaine by their Factors, which had certified them, that as soon as we were come to Monsambicke, wher the Xequé went to visite the Captaine generall aboord his shippe, and sent him presents, and established with him friendship, and also giuing him a Pilot to carrie him to Calicut, whether he said that he would goe. He after this shot his Ordinaunce at the towne, with the which he killed of his Subjects, and tooke certaine Sambucos laden with Merchants, and handeled both him and his like vnto Enemies. And being departed from thence to Mombassa, likewise vnder y<sup>e</sup> coloz of friendship, saing that he was bound towarde Calicut, the king thereupon tooke occasion to send to visite the Captaine generall aboord his ship, requesting him to enter into his harbour, who being determined so to doe, whether that it was for that he saw within the same many ships, or y<sup>e</sup> he thought he could not make his partie good, did flye away so fast, that he left one of his Ankoys behinde him: and from thence also the Pilot ran away, which he caried from Monsambicke, for the ill lyfe which he lead with him, with whipping of him, and putting of him vnto other punishment. And being departed from Mombassa, and come nere vnto Mylynde, did take perforce a Sambuco laden with Moors, of y<sup>e</sup> which there were some that dyed in the battaile, & others that are yet aliue remaining captiues. And for that those that were captiues willed him to carrie them to Mylynde, saing, that there they would giue him a newe Pilot to carrie him to Calicut, by that meanes onely he came thether. And hauing there

there by the king of Mylynde bene receiued very well, yet the Captaine generall would no more come a lande, fearing the hurts which he had done, and taking the Moore prisoner which the king had sent to visit him, and would not deliuer him, vntill such time that he had a Pilot sent him. Wher by it might well be considered, that if so be that he were an Embassadour and were come to maintaine peace, he would neuer haue vsed those disorders, but wold haue brought the king a present with him. Of this his demeanour, we giue thee to vnderstand, as our dutie bindeth vs, that now thou maist doe as thou shalt thinke good therein. With this newes the king remained amazed, and told the Moors that he would determine himselfe what shall be thought most conuenient: they saing this, thought the same not to be the waye to cause the king to doe as they would haue him, and did afterward tell the Catuall thereof, who was in great credite with the king, requesting him to perswade with the king, not to receiue any such Embassage as that was, and the cause thereof the rather was, that he tooke this present for so small a valew. With this the Catuall went immediately to the king, who told him what the Moors had said, to whom the Catuall gaue counsaile, to doe as the Moors had requested him: immediately the king began to change his countenance against the Captaine generall, but not so much as the same might be perceiued. But as soon as the Moors had knowledge by the Catuall concerning the present that the Captaine generall would haue sent to y<sup>e</sup> king, and that he would not consent therevnto, the Moors tooke occasion to go to y<sup>e</sup> Generalls lodging with a fained friendship offering themselues to instruct him what he should best doe, and talking with him they sayd, that in that Country it was accustomed that those the which came from other places about businesse with the king, shoulde bring him a Present, and therefore it were good that hee did sende him one. The Captaine Generall being offended with that iniurye they hadde offered him, and that the Catuall and the kings Factour would not consent therevnto,

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The fained  
friend-  
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the Moors

did



did vpon the same take occasion to shew them those peeces, the which he was minded for to send, who hauing seene the same, they saide to the Generall, that the Captuall and the Factor had great reason to be offended thereat, for that the same was not a present for to be sent to a King, neyther would they wissh him to send it, for that it would be iudged that by the sending thereof he did mocke the King: All this they tolde him, and as they said as friends, in shewing him their minde. Bontaybo told him also in the same manner, meruailing what was the cause he brought no other things, since there was plentie of all things in Portugale. But the Captaine generall excused himselfe, saieing: that he was not certaine that he should come to Calycut.

¶ How the Captaine generall returning spake with the King of Calycut, & how he gaue him license to returne vnto his ships. Chap. 19.



**A**L this daye the Captaine generall was greatly offended, for that the Captuall & the Factor were not returned, so that he was once determined to goe to the Court with out them, yet he thought best to tarry till the next daye, on which in the afternone they came, with whome he shewed himselfe to be offended for their long tarrying. But they did aunswere him touching that matter nothing at all, but talked of other things, and so went with him to the Court. And for that the King was somewhat chaunged, as I haue said, against the Captaine Generall, he did not commaund him to come into his presence in thre houres after his comming to the Courte, and then commaundement was giuen ther should come no more in with the Embassadour but two of his owne men, with the which he was offended, for y he thought the same seperating from his men, was not meant well, did therefore

carry

carry with him Fernan Martines, and one Diego Dias, the which was his Secretary. Being come where the King was, he did not receiue him so well as at the first time, but said vnto him with a seuerer countenance, that he had tarried for him all the day before, and he came not. The Captaine generall aunswere, that he did deferre his comming, for that he found himselfe weary by reason of the long way, for he was very loath to tell him the cause why he staid, for that he would not giue the King occasion to talke of the present that he would haue sent him: But it did well appeare that the Captuall and the Factor would not haue hindered the sending of the same vnto the King, but for y they well knew, he would haue made small account thereof. And also they must of force haue told him that they had seene the same. Neuerthelesse it coulde not be excused, but that the King spake vnto the Captaine generall thereof immediately saieing: how that he had tolde him that he was belonging to a great and rich King, and yet he brought no present from him, but an Embassage of friendship onely, and therefore he could not tell what friendship he would haue with him, since that he did send him nothing. Vnto this the Captaine generall did aunswere, that there was no maruel that he did bring him nothing, for that he came not in assurance that he should make with him. But now since that he hath seene him he should well perceiue what his King & Master will hereafter sende him, if so be that God wil giue him leaue to carry newes of this his discouery. And if so be that he will giue credite to his Letters which hee did bring with him, he shall then see what the King doeth send him word of. The King in steade of demanding his Letters, asked him whether the King his Master did sende him to discouer stones or men, and if so be that he did send him to discouer men, how doth it chaunce then that hee sent him no present. And since that it is manifest that hee had brought him nothing, he sayd as then that it was told him that he had a Sancta Maria in golde, requesting of him the same.

The king quarrelleth with the Captaine Generall.

The Captaine generall was partly ashamed to see the King so altered, for that he had not brought him a present. And now moreover to demand without all honestie that Image. To whom he answered, that the Sancta Maria, which they tolde him of, was made of woode, and gylded ouer and not of Masse golde. And although that it were (yet would he not depart therewith) so much as the same had preserved him in the Sea, and had brought the same from his Countrey. The King did not reply vpon this answer, but demanded those Letters the which the King had sent him: whereof the one was in the Portingale tongue, the other in the Arabian language. These he tolde him were sent in this order, for that the King his Father did not know whether of these two languages was vnderstode in his Countrey. Wherefore he desired that since the Portingale language was not vnderstod in his Countrey but the Arabian, and that there were Christians of the Indias that did vnderstand the same, one of those might read his Letter, and the rather for that the Mozes are enemies to the Christians, of whom he was afraid, least that they should chaunge the sense thereof. The King commaunded them so to be read: howbeit there could be founde no Indian that coulde read the same, or at the least would shew himselfe that he could read them. The Captaine generall seeing that there was no other remedy, but y the Mozes must needs read the same, was diuised then to request the King, that Bontaybo might be one of them. This was done, for y as he thought he would speake and vse more truth then the others, for the acquaintance they had with him. The King commaunded the same to be read by other thre, who hauing read y same first of all to themselves, & afterward with a loude voyce declared to the King the effect thereof, the which was, That as sone as the King of Portingale had knowledge, y he was one of the mightiest Princes of all the Indias, & a Christian, he was desirous to haue a trade & a friendship with him, for that he might haue out of his Countrey, Spices, the which he hath in great plentie, for which there cometh di- uers

The effect  
of y king  
of Portin-  
gales Let-  
ters to the  
king of  
Calicut

uers from many places of the world thither to buy y same. And therefore if so be he will giue him license to sende for the same, that then he wil send vnto him from his kingdome many things which he hath not in his, as his Captaine generall and Embassadour will tell him. And if so be that with those things he were not pleased, he will sende him money both of golde and siluer to buy them withall, & how that as well of his Merchandize as of the money, y Captaine generall could shew him part. The King hearing this, as he was desirous that for the increase of his rents there should come many Merchants vnto Calicut, shewed himself to be wel pleased with this letter, & also made vnto the Captaine generall a better countenance then he did before, & asked him what Merchandize ther were in Portingale. He named many, shewing how that of all he had brought with him part, and also of their money, requesting him license to goe aboord for the same, and in the meane while he wold leaue in his lodging foure or fife of his men. The King giuing more credite to that which he spake, then to that the Mozes had told him, said vnto him, y he might go in a good houre, & carie his men with him, for there was no necessitie that they should remaine a lande, & that he should bring his Merchandize, & sell them as well as he could. With this license he remained well content, for (as he saw y King make him at the first an ill countenance) so he thought y he wold not haue giuen him y same, & with this license he went first to his lodging, being by y Kings commandement accompanied with the Catuall: and so much as that daye was all spent, he wold not goe aboord that night.

How the Captaine generall hauing license of the King to go to his ships, was staid by the Catuall in pandarane, Chap. 20.

The next daye after, which was the last daye of Maye, the Catuall sent to the Captaine generall a Horse, howbeit without anye furniture to the same, vpon which he might goe to Pandarane: And for that the Horse came after that order, he woulde not

the Mores  
make a  
new con-  
spiracie.

not accept his offer, but rather requested him for one of his Andors, the which he sent him immediately, and on the same he went to Pandarane, and all his men came after him on foot. There went to beare him company many Noyres, the Catuall did remaine in Calicut, and when the Mores had notice that he should there stay, and that the Captaine generall was gone towards his ships, supposing that he went for altogether, were soze amazed therewith, whereupon the Mores took occasion to goe to the Catuall, with large offers of money to pursue the Captaine generall, and vnder a fained pretence to lay hands vpon him and to take him prisoner, for that they would finde occasion to kill him; and he by this meanes should remaine in no fault thereof at all. And albeit that the King would punish him forsomuch as he did keepe him prisoner, yet they would not feare but to get him his pardon. With this bribe and promise he did depart immediately, and went in such hast after him, that hee past by our men which did remaine behinde the Captaine generall, for that they were not able to goe much, by reason of the heate. The Catuall hauing overtaken the Captaine generall, asked him why he did make so much hast, or wher he wer now running away: this was spoken by signes, by which the Captaine generall did vnderstand, who answered him also by signes that he did runne away to flye the heat. And being come to Pandarane, for that his men as yet did not appeare, the Captaine generall tolde the Catuall that hee would not goe into the village, vntill his men were come, and there he tarried for them in a house, wherein he rested himselfe from the raine: howbeit they came not vntill it was almost Sunne set, for so long he did tarry for them because they had lost their waye. But after that they were come, the Captaine generall tolde them, that then it was not time to leaue him, whereas if so be that they hadde come sooner, hee hadde bene as then in his Shippe.

Whereupon, immediatly hee did demaunde of the Catuall a Boate or Pinnace for to goe aborde in, who for that he pretended an other thing, answered him,

him, that it was verie late, and that the Shippes did ride farre, and going in the night he might misse them, and therfore that it were a great deale better to tarie vntill y next day. To which the Captaine generall made him a plaine answer, that if so be that he would not giue him an Almadias or Pinnace, he would immediatly returne to the king & complain vpon him, forsomuch as the king had sent him to his ships, and he would saue to stay him, which was very ill done, since that he was a Chyristian as they were. This was spoken with such a coulour as if he would haue returned to Calicut. The Catuall for to dissemble with him the more, did make him a countenance as though he would giue him thirtie Almadias, if he would haue so many. Howbeit he tolde him that he did counsell him for the best, and to remaine. But if so be that he would goe he was contented therewith. Thus on one parte he sent to seeke out Almadias or Pinnaces, and on the other part commaunded the owners of the same to hide themselves out of the way because they should not deliuer the same. In the meane season while they went to seeke those Pinnaces, the Captaine Generall went along the water side, and for that he had an euill suspicion of their dealing, for that which they had done to him in Calicut, he commaunded Gonfallo Peres, a Martiner, with other two of his men, to go before as fast as they could, & see if they could finde Nicholas Coello in his boats to wil him to keepe himself out of the way, forsomuch as he was asfeard least y the Catuall would send to take his boats, with all those that were with him in the same, Gonfallo Peres with the other went about that businesse whilest the Catuall went in the meane season so leasely to prouide for this boat, that the night drem on, so that it was three houres within night ere he coulde heare of any thing what hee had done, and what for that & also to tarrye the comming of those that went to Nicholas Coello, the Captaine Generall was the willinger to stay there that night. After that the Catuall had placed the Generall in a Mores house, tolde him that he would

Dis-  
simu-  
lation in  
y Catuall

goe to take out Gonfallo Peres, & the other two that went with him. Howbeit he came not backe till it was the morning. And as soone as the Captaine Generall had sight of him, immediately he required a boate for to goe in vnto his shippes. But as soone as the Catuall heard him, he then spake vnto his Nayres that were there present in his language, who after ward willed the Captaine Generall to commaunde his ships to be brought nere vnto the shoare, and that being done he shoulde haue license to goe his waye, with this the Captaine Generall was somewhat asfearde, howbeit he answered him with a stout stomacke, that as long as he was on land, he would commaund no such matter to be done, forsomuch as then his brother would iudge him to remaine in prison, and that he did commaunde the same to be done more for feare then any thing els, wherupon he wold immediatly depart toward Portugall, without him.

The Catuall's purpose opened.

To this the Catuall made answere with the others that were with him, speaking with a stoutnesse, that if so be that he would not doe that which was willed him to doe, y then they will not let him go a word. To the which shewing himselfe to be therewith offended, he made answere that if so be that they would not let him go, that then he wold resurne to the king of Calicut, and make his complaint, who if then he would keep him in his countrie, y then he would be verie glad to dwell in the same. The Catuall thereupon willed him so to do, & to goe to the king to make his complaint, but yet for all his saying he would not consent ther vnto, for that he had commaunded the doores of his lodging to be kept shut, placing within the same sundry Nayres with their weapons. And if so that any of our men should goe forth, there were appointed many of the enimies to withstand them. Nevertheless it was Gods pleasure that the Catuall durst not ventare to kill the Captaine Generall, nor yet any of his men for all that the Moors hadde be-  
 feare

feare thereof, that he durst not doe it.

The cause why he required the shippes to be brought to the shoare side was, for that they being there, the Moors might the better laye the same a boorde, and so take them and kill all those that were within them, which thing for that it did so manifestly appeare to the Captaine General, he would not commaund the Shippes to be brought anye nearer. And also for that the same was so apparaunt vnto the others of his men that were with him. They gaue him counsaile not to deale therein. The Catuall seeing that he would not commaunde those Shippes to be brought nere the shoare, and for that there was no cause to staye him or offer him any wrong, and seeing that hee could not kill him, did then beginne to request him to bring his Sailes and the Rudder of the Shippes a lande. With that the Captaine Generall beganne to laugh, saying, that he would neither doe the one, nor yet the other, since that the king did giue him free license to goe without any condition.

And therefore hee willed him to doe what he would, and how that of all the iniuries which hee had offered him, the king shoulde be made priuie, who he knewe would doe him iustice, but yet for all this, both hee and his remayned in some feare of suspect, although they did not outwardly shew the same.

At length the Captaine Generall with the rest feigning themselves to be an hungred, and that they were vnprouided of victuals, did request him that some of his men might goe to prouide the same, and hee would remaine alone, but for all that the Catuall would not agree ther vnto. Nowe our men being in feare to see themselves in such a daunger. Then came Gonfallo Peres, supposing that the Captaine Generall had ben at his liberty, and that they were farrieng for him and the others, who tolde him that hee hadde mette with Nicholas Coello, and with the others which farryed for him with theyr Boates a lande.

The Generals vncfeignall excuse.

This

Gonsalvo  
Peres sent  
back to  
the ships

This newes being brought to the Captaine Generall, hee was afearde least the Catuall should know thereof, which if he had knowne indeed he would haue sent Pinnaces and many men in them, for to haue taken them. Wherefore did he procure by all the meanes he could, that Gonsalvo Peres should secretlye returne, from thence vnto their shippes, and put themselves in good order. And also that he should goe with them and informe them in what case he doth remaine. Nicholas Coello hauing receiued this dispatch, did forthwith depart, and that in hast, and immediatly after he was departed, the Catuall was aduertised thereof, who sent after him sundrie Pinnaces well appointed, but yet they could not ouertake him, and therefore they returned againe vnto the Catuall. Then the Catuall after that they were come did once more request the Captaine Generall to write vnto his brother to bring the shippes nere to the lande, but he could not perswade the Captaine Generall so to doe, saying that if he should doe it, yet his brother would not consent therevnto, and although he would, yet he knew that the companye would not. To this the Catuall did replie, that he should not make him beleue that, for so much as he did well know that all things should be done as he would commaund. Howbeit the Captaine Generall wold write no such letter, for that he was afearde of the bringing of the ships so nere the shoare, for the causes aboue mentioned.

¶ How the Catuall was contented that the Captaine Generall should goe to his ships, & after that what chaunced. cap. 21.



After this sorte they spent that day, in the which our men remained in great feare, for so much as in the night they were put in a great yerde that was vnderfote layed with Brick, and compassed about with walls, & also had to keepe them far more men

men then they had in the day. Then the Captaine Generall perceiued by the countenance of his men y they feared least they should be departed y one from y other y next day after, as he himselfe suspected the lyke, although he gaue no outward shew thereof, but rather had a confidence, that as soone as the king of Calicut had knowledge after what sorte they were stayed, would commaunde them to be released, for that he did neuer vse with him double dealing, it was thought that the Catuall did staye the Captaine Generall after this order, because he should giue him some reward. And for that he would giue as it were no outward shew that he was offended, he would needs come to supper to him that night, at the which they hadde both Rice and Vens, which he commaunded to be bought the day before. The Catuall did much meruaile to see how little they did passe for their close keeping, after that sort, and of the great constancie of the Captaine Generall, that he would not commaund those shippes to be brought nere to the shoare, nor yet condescended to any of the other his request. And for that hee thought that it was but a follye to keepe him prisoner, thereby the rather to constrain him to doe it, it was Gods pleasure to put him in the head to sette him at libertye, for feare least that the king should knowe thereof, for that he gaue him free libertye to goe to his shippes. The next day which was Saterday the second of June, hee then tolde him, that since he had certified the king that he would bring his Merchandise a land, he should command the same to be brought. For if was a custome that whatsoeuer Merchants did come to Calicut, he should immediatly vpon the same commaund his Merchandise to be brought a land and his men also, and they not to returne vnto their ships, vntill such time that they had solde the same, notwithstanding as soone as the Merchandise were come, he would then let him go aboard his ships. And although his wordes were with the Captaine Generall of small credite to send vnto his brother a certeine dispatch for them, yet he did not lette to tell him, that immediatly he would sende for them, if so

The generals constancie marueled at by the Catuall

p. be

be that they wold giue him Almadias or pinnaces, in the which the same might be brought, for that his brother woulde not consent that his boates should come a lande, vntill such time that hee were there himself, with this the Catuall was content for that he thought to make himself possessor of the Merchandise, hauing a speciall hope that they were of a great value, as the Captaine Generall had tolde him.

The effect  
of the  
Generals letters  
vnto his  
brother,

When he dispatched two of his men with a letter vnto his brother, in the which he had made relation after what sorte hee did remaine. And that he had no other iniury offered him, but that he kept his lodging. And for any thing else hee was very well, willing him that hee should sende him part of the Merchandise to content the Catuall withall, that he might let him depart. And after that hee had receiued the same, if then hee would not let him go, he would then belceue that hee did keepe him prisoner, by the king of Calicuts commaundement, who hee knew would not commaund the same, except it were to take his shippes, which hee would not doe, but hauing time to arme his owne fleet, & so to set vpon them, wherefore hee aduertised them that if so be he were not set at liberty, immediatly after the Merchandise were landed, that then they should not remaine there any longer, but goe their wayes toward Portingale, & informe the king his Maister what had chaunced vnto him, and also what hee had done, that there might not be lost a Countrey of so greate a profite for Portingale as that was, and also to tell him after what sort that hee did remaine there, and what confidence hee hadde in his highnesse that he would send him such a fleet of ships and men, that by the same hee doth hope to be sette at liberty, being assured that as now they woulde not kill him.

He that carried these letters being come to Paulo de la Gama, did deliuer them vnto him, giuing vnto him large instructions of all that which they had past, since they did departe. Now Paulo de la Gama hauing seene this Letter which

which was sent him from the Captaine General, did send immediatly the merchandise with an answer to this Letter, in the which hee sayde, that GOD would not permit him to retourne to Portingale without his company. And if so be that their enimyes would not sette him at liberty, that then hee did hope in GOD that hee woulde strengthen those fewe that remained in the fleet, with whome and with the Ordinance that they haue, hee woulde come and set him at liberty, and of this hee might make full accompt, and of no other thing.

The Merchandise being landed, the Captaine General did deliuer the same vnto the Catuall, and also to Diego Dias whome he leste for factour of the same, and to Aluora de Braga the Scriuener, who remained in a house which the Catuall had sought out for them. In this space the Captaine Generall made himselfe in a readynesse to goe aboard his shippes, but first the Catuall did reforme, and make himselfe friendes with him.

After that hee was a boorde, hee would send no more Merchandise a lande, vntill such time hee heard newes the same were solde, neyther yet would goe any more a lande, because hee would runne in no such daunger, with this the Moors were grievously offended, for that they thought that if so be that he would come a land, that there they might doe him more hurte then a Seaboard. And for that they woulde the rather so do, they beganne to make a mocke at the merchandise which he had left a land. Also they wrought all the means they could to hinder their sales therof, saing y they wer litle or nothing worth. Of al this the Captaine general was informed, & for y as he thought the king knew nothing of all these things, neither yet what discurtisie the Catuall had offered him, & for that he should vnderstand the cause why the Captaine Generall did not retourne a land, neither yet wold send any more merchandise, he did therfore send him word within fure dayes after by his factour of all that they hadde done vnto him, and also what iniurye the Moors hadde shewed him,

His brother  
applies

deuises of  
the Moors  
to entice  
the aland.



touching their Merchants, promising notwithstanding, that he would not let to be at his commaundement with all the whole flet. Then the king seemed to be very greatly offended for that which they had done to y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general, in so much as he had sent him vnto his shippes. But for all that the Catuall went unpunished, although he sent the Captaine Generall worde, that he would punish those that had so used him, which out of doubt were naughtie christians, so that it did well appeare that it grieved him verie much to heare thereof. And as touching the Merchaundise he promised to sende thether such as shoulde buye the same, as he did indeede seauen or eyght Merchautes, which are Gentiles Gufarates, and with his Factor he sent a Nayre, which was a principall honest man, to the intent he might remaine in the Factorie with the Factor, to whome he gaue commaundement diligentlie to beware that there shoulde not come any Mozes to kill him.

But for because that this was done but under couloure that the Mozes shoulde not seme to subbozne the Merchautes, they bought nothing, but rather did abate the price, of the which the Mozes were verie gladd, and said, that now it did well appeare that they were not alone that would not buye of they<sup>r</sup> Merchaundise, yet for all that ther durst come no Moze to the Factorie, they once hauing notice that there was placed a Nayre by the kinges commaundement. And if so be that before they did not abide or loue vs, they ten times worse loued vs afterwarde, so that whensoever any of our men should come a land, they receiued the same as an iniurie done vnto them, spitting on the ground, saying: Portingale, Portingale. But our men which vnderstode their meaning did laugh thereat, to the ende thereby they might see howe little they did esteeme their doinges, for so the Captaine Generall commaunded them to doe. Nowe perceiuing that there was none that would buy of the Merchants, he supposed the cause to be for that they lay in a place where there were no Merchaunts. And therfore supposing that if so be that they were in Calicut

cut, where other Merchants are, he should sell the better, did therfore inue y<sup>e</sup> King of Calicut by a messenger for license to send the same, which he gaue immediately, and commaunded the Catuall to see the same brought forthwith, & to such as shoulde carrie them, to see them paid at his owne costes and charges, for that he would not that any thing of y<sup>e</sup> King of Portingales, shuld be at any charges in his Country, and so it was done: but for all this the Captaine generall wold neuer come moze a lande, for that which the Catuall hadde done vnto him, and for that Bontaybo which came to see him manye times, did giue him counsaile so to doe, for that the King was moueable, and therfore it was possible that the Mozes would alter his minde, for the great credite that they were of with him. But the Captaine general was very warie, and because that he was a Moze, he would not much trust him, neither yet would giue him account what he was minded to doe: yet for that he would seme to haue him in some reputation that he should bring him alwayes newes of that which did passe on shoare, he departed with him both money and other rewards.

Their merchandise paid for by y<sup>e</sup> King him selfe

Bontaybo vsed, but not trusted.

¶ How the Captaine generall being desirous to retourne toward Portingale, sent to demaunde license of the King to haue a Factor and a Scriuener, with such Merchaunts as he thought good: & how the King caused the messenger with one other, that was found a shoare to be crried to prison. Chap. 22.



The Merchaunts being brought to Calicut, the Captaine generall therewith gaue all his men license to goe and see the Citie of Calicut, & to buye ther what they thought good, so that there went out of each shippe euery day a man, and those being returned, there went immediately others. And as they went on this

part,

order,

The ende  
of þ vvin-  
ter in the  
Indias.

order, they were carried to the Gentiles houses wher they had good cheere, and also when occasion serued might haue among them good lodging. The like courtesie they did receiue in Calicut, besides they did report vnto our men of all such things as they had, and after the selfe same manner, our men did bestow amongst them part of that they caried, which were bracelets of Brasle & of Copper, Detoter, and apparell, which they carried to sell in Calicut, or anye other place, where they might goe as quiet as in Lishborne. From the lande there went aboord both Fisher men & Gentiles to sell their Fish, Cocons and Hennes, which they gaue in trucke of bisket and for ready money. Others ther wer that went, thether with their children, who carried nothing with them to sell, but only their going was to see our ships. The Captaine generall was very glad of their comming, & commanded to giue them meate: this he did for to increase the friendship betwene the King of Calicut & them. After this order, the ships wer neuer without some, & those y wer there, remained till such time that night drew on, and then they were bid to goe their ways. After this sort they spent their time till it was the x. day of August, the which was the beginning of the season wherin they might depart from the Coast of the Indias, and also for that as then their winter did make an end. The Captaine generall perceiuing the quietnesse of the people and Countrey, and the familiaritie they vsed with our men, and how quietly they went in Calicut, without receiuing either hurt of the Moores or of the Nayres, did credibly beleue that this came to passe, for that the King of Calicut would haue peace and friendship with the King his Master, was the occasion that almost in thre moneths that our men had tyme in Calicut they did receiue no manner hurt, either of the Moores or of the Nayres. Hee did therfore determine to establish the Factorie which was there, with all such Merchandize as he had lefte at that place sent (although the least parte thereof was solde) for that there was now layde a good foundation or ground worke, for the next voyage when it shuld please the King his Master

her to sende againe, and if it might please God. to giue him life, that he might bring him newes of this Discouerie, so that it shoud not be needfull to make any new consent or agreement for the Factorie. And by the counsaile of his Captaines and of the other Principalls of his ships, he sent vnto the King of Calicut a present, of skarfes of sundry colours, of silkes, Coralls and other things, which was caried vnto him by Diego Dias, desiring the King to pardon him, for that he was so bold as to send him that present, considering he did the same for no other purpose, but onely to shew what seruitour he was of his, who is and will be alwayes at his commandement, which was the occasion that he sent it, and not for that he thought that things of so small valew, were of sufficient dignitie, for to represent a King withall of so great a power as he was. And if so be that he had in his custodie, that which he might esteeme or think to be of a more worthie price, he would sende it with a better good will. And for that the time now drew nere y he determined to depart, he ordained for the same, and also if so be that he did minde to send any Embassadour to the King his Master to confirme the amitie or friendship betwene them, he desired him to commaund him to be in a readinesse, for that he had a confidence that as touching that which he had agreed vpon with his highnesse, as also presuming on y gifts which he had receiued at his hands, y he might as he was desirous, leaue in Calicut that Factor with his Scrivenor & the Merchandize which he had left, not onely for a witnes of a perpetuall peace & friendship settled ther with his highnesse, but also for a testimony of the truth of his Embassage, & of that which y King his Master shuld send hereafter, as sone as he had newes of him, & also for confirmatio of his discouery & to get some credit in Portugale, he did therfore send to kisse his hands, requesting him to send to y King his master one Bahar of cinamon, & another of cloues, & another of some other spices, & as sone as y factor did make any redy money of his wares, he shuld pay for y same, so much as at y present he had not wherewith to paye. After that Diego Dias had

had receiued his message, there past foure dayes afoze the King would consent that he should come in his presence, although that he went euery day vnto his Pallace. After that he had commanded him to come into his presence, he viewed how and after what sort he came laden, and thereupon asked him with a frowning countenance, what it was that he would haue: but Diego Dias at that time was asfearde, that he would commaund him to be killed. But after that he had told him his message and would haue deliuered him the present, he would not see it, but commaunded it to be deliuered to his Factor. The aunſwere that he gaue touching the Captaine generall was, that since he would needes goe his waye, he might so doe: but first of that he doe depart, he must giue him 600. Serafynes, for so it was the custome of the Countrey. Diego Dias being returned with this present, was accompanied by manye Nayres, which he seeing, thought it to be for the best: but as sone as he was come to the Factorie, they remained at the doze, and would not consent, that he or any other should come forth. And after this proclamation was made in all the Citie, that vpon paine of death there should goe aboard our Flote no boate or Almadias: but yet notwithstanding all this Bontaybo went, and gaue warning to the Captaine generall in secretes, not to goe a lande, nor consent that any of his should goe: for that he knew for most certaine by the Mozes, that if so be that he or they should so doe, the King would commaunde they heads to be stroken off. And as touching all his faire words and good entertainment, which he had shewed him vnto that present, as also to giue him a house in the which his Merchandize might be layd, as also the good entertainment that our men had, was but more dissimulation, and to the ende, he might haue taken him a lande with them, & so haue commaunded them all to be killed, which was wrought by the industrie of the Mozes onely, which had made the King beleue, that they were thieues and went a roving, and that he came not vnto his Harbour, but to steale such Merchandize as should be brought to the Citie, and also to espie the Countrey,

The kings  
aunſwere  
vnto Die-  
go Dias.

Diego Di-  
as kept in  
pison,

Countrey, and after to come with a great Flote for to invade the same. In the selfe same order was the Captaine generall informed by two Malabars, which are Gentiles, being therfore now in a studie what was best to be done, hauing this aduertisement for most certaine, as sone as it was night, there came aboard the Generalls ship, a Naue of the colour blacke, which was naturally borne in Guynce, & belonged vnto Diego Dias and also was a Christian, and had the Portugall tongue very well, who tolde him that Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga did remain in pison, & what aunſwere the King of Calycut had made to his message, & what he had commaunded to be done with his present, and also what Proclamations there were made: Diego Dias, for that he thought good to giue him knowledge of y<sup>e</sup> which had past, had bribed a Fisher man to carrie this messenger, and that in the night season that he might not be knowen. After that the Captaine generall had heard all this, he was much offended therewith: howbeit, for that he would see the end thereof, would not depart, but did let passe that day, to see whether that any would come aboard him. The next day which was Wednesday, being the xv. of August, there came one only Pinnace or Almadia aboard the General, in the which were foure boyes, which brought fine precious stones to sell, and for that they came after such sort he took them to be spies, and that their coming was for no other purpose but to see what they did: and by this meanes he thought he might vnderstand in what reputation they were with the King. This was the occasion the Captaine generall did receiue them with as good a countenance as he did before, giuing them nothing to vnderstand y<sup>e</sup> he knew of the imprisonment of Diego Dias, and would not therefore laye hand vpon those, but vpon such as should come afterward (which as he thought should be of more credite) vntill such time as he had recouered those that were imprisoned.

Vnto those also he wrote a Letter by those Boyes, with fained words, saing that he did vnderstande of they imprisonment: this was done in such order, that if so be this

D.

letter

Boies sent  
for spies

The  
king of  
Calicuts  
treson to  
wards the  
Captaine  
generall,

Certaine  
Malabars  
stayd in  
exchange

letter should haue come to any other mens hands, they could not haue vnderstood the same. These Voyes did deliuer vnto him this letter, who afterward told the king what great entertainment they had at the Captaine generalls hands, which made him to beleue that he knewe nothing of the imprisonment of his men, whereof he was very glad & did retourne and send aboord others, and those that shoulde goe had warning giuen them not to disclose, that the Factor with the others did remaine prisoners. This was done by pollicie, for that he made this reckoning to deceiue the Captaine generall on this sort, vntill such time that he was able to sende a flete of ships vpon him, or til that the ships of Meca, should come and take him. On this sort went the Malabars aboord, vnto whom the Captaine generall made a good countenance, and commaunded them to be entertained very well: all this he did for y he saw none worth the staieng. On the Sunday next, there came five principal Malabars, with other fiftene which waited vpon them, in another pinace. And for that the Captain generall thought that for those the king would send him his Factor and his Scriuenour, he laid hands vpon them all, onely he lefte two Mariners in a pinace, by whom he sent a letter to the kings Factors, written in the Malabars tongue, in the which he commaunded for the Factor and his Scriuenor, & then he wold send those which he had staid. The kings factor hauing perused this letter, he enformed y king of y which had past, who comaunded the Factor & Scriuenor to be brought home to his house as prisoners, that he might from thence send for them, and to dissemble therewith as though he knewe nothing of their imprisonment, & so cause them to be sent from thence to the Captaine generall, for that he might send him those Malabars which he had detained, whose wiues made exclamation for the imprisonment of their husbands. And therefore the king was the more willinger to set our men at libertie, who afterward remained a while in the kings Factors house.

¶ How the Captaine generall seeing the delayes wer made for

for that the Factor with the Scriuenor came not, did bring himselfe in a readines as though he would depart immediately, wherevpon without any further delay, the King sent them away, and what els happened. Chap. 23.



The captain general seeing y they came not, determined to proue whethery with shewing himself as though he wold depart immediately, they wold the send them to him, did therfore on Wednesday, being the xiii. of August commaund to wey his Anko, & to bring himselfe vnder saile. And for that the winde was contrary he was giuen to come to an Anko, foure leagues from Calicut, riding in an open road, and there they remained till the next Saturday, to see whether they would sende their prisoners. And perceiuing no likelihood thereof, he went yet further into the Sea, so far, that he scarcely could descry any land, & being at an Anko for lack of winde, there came thether a boat w certain Malabars, which told y Captaine generall y their comming was to seeke him out, & to tel him y Diego Dias with y others, wer in y kings pallaice, whom he minded to send aboord, which thing to be true they would bind theselues y as y next day they should be brought. And y cause why they brought the not as then, was for that they thought they shuld not ouertake him. Now for y they sawe not y Malabars y the Generall kept as prisoners, thought y they were all dead. This craftie dealing was for no other purpose, but to dally with y Captaine general, & to stay him with those words, that the king might in the meane while prepare in Calicut an armie of ships to set vpon him and to tarry for the ships of Meca, to ioyne with his flete. After this the Captaine generall commaunded those of the towne, to goe their way and not to retourne without his men, or els their letters, for if so be they did he would sink them w his ordinance. And also if immediately they did not returne with an answer, y then he would cut off the heads of those which he had taken. With this aunswere, those of the

Yet made  
uices to  
slaye the  
Portin-  
gals from  
departing

to lorne did departe, and immediatlye as soone as they had winde, he made sayle, and bearing along the Coast, came to Ankoꝛ at the Sunne set ouer against Calycut.

The next daye our men descryed comming seauen Almadias, which came aboord the Captaine generalls ship, in the one whereof came Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga, and in the others there came many others of the countrey, howbeit, there were none that durst enter within their ships, but did put Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga in his owne boate which they had at their stearne, and afterwarde they themselves fell further off, tarrieng for the Captaine Generalls aunswere. To whom Diego Dias said, That as soone as the King of Calicut knew that he was gone, he sent for him from his Factors house and shewed himselfe ioyfull, as one that knew nothing of his imprisonment, and asked him what was the occasion that the Captaine Generall tooke those men which he doth keepe as prisoners, who afterwarde tolde him the cause: whereupon the King made aunswere, that it was well done. He asked him also whether that his Factor had demaunded at his hands any thing of gift, speaking against his owne Factor which was there present, for that he knew wel enough y it was not long ago, since he commaunded one other to be killed, for taking certain byzibes of Merchaut straungers. After all this, he willed him to tell the Captaine generall that he should send him y stone which he promised him to be set in the Countrey, vpon the which there is a Crosse and the royall Armes of Portingale, and also to know of him whether he be content to leaue Diego Dias for Factor in Calicut, and with the same he sent him a letter for the King of Portingale, which was confirmed and signed by the King, and witten by Diego Dias and with this Letter, he sent Aluoro de Braga. The Captaine generall tooke this Letter, which was witten in a certaine Lease of a Palme Tree, vpon the which they doe vse to wryte matters, that shall indure a long time, the effect whereof was this.

Vasco

Vasco de la Gama, a Gentleman of the house came to my Countrey, of whose comming I was very glad. In my Countreis there is great store of Cinamon, Cloues, and Pepper, and precious stones. That which I am desirous to haue out of thy Countrey, is Silver, Gold, Corall, & Sharlet. The Captaine Generall for that he saue the king to vse no truth, would not aunswere for all his offers, but therewith sent him all such as he hadde stayed that were Nayres, and for all the others, he sent him word, he would not send them, vntill such time that he sent him all such merchaundise as he had taken of his. Notwithstanding he sent him the stone he sent for, & with this aunswere departed those that brought Diego Dias aboord. The next day there came a boord Bontaybo who tolde the Captaine Generall that he came so sodeinly away from Calicut for that the Captuall by the kings commaundement had taken from him all that he euer had, saying that he was a Christian, and that his comming to Calicut ouer land was by the King of Portingales commaundement onely to bee his spie. Other matters there were which he told him of, and that the same came by the Moors procurement, the which he knew wel, that as they tooke his goods, so they meant to do him some shrewd turne in his person, if so bee that they coulde haue taken him, and therefore he came his way befoze. The Captaine Generall was very glad of his comming, and tolde him that he would carry him to Portingale, and that there he should recouer all his goods with the double, besides other rewards that the king his Maister would giue him. He commaunded also that in his ship there should be prepared him a principall good cabine. After this about tenne of the clocke, there came a boorde the Captaine Generall thre Pinnaces laden with men, and vpon certeine of their seates or benches, there was layd certeine Skarfs, as who should say, there came part of theyr Merchandise. And after these there came other foure one after another. And as touching those thre that brought those Skarfs, they tolde the Captaine Generall that there came all theyr Merchandise,

The effect  
of y King  
of Calicut  
cuts letters.

Bontaybo  
willing  
to goe to  
Portingale

D.iii.

dise which they would put in his boate, and therefore they willed him to bring thether those Malabars which he had prisoners, and that there they would fetch them. The Captaine Generall perceiuing that this was but a fetch, did will them to goe their waye, for that hee would haue none of theyr Merchandise but those Malabars to carrye to Portingale, as witnesses of his discouerie.

And if so be that God of his diuine godnesse doe giue him lyfe, hee would very shortly retourne to Calicut, and then they shoulde well knowe whether that those Christi- ans were theues or not, as the Mores hadde made the king of Calicut beleue, and therefore that was the cause why hee did them so manifest wrong. This being done hee commaunded to shote of many peeces of Ordnance, with the feare thereof they ranne theyr waye. And if so be that the kings shippes had bene in a readi- nesse and a floate, they had sent them against the Cap- taine Generall, but they were hated by for because of the Winter, which was to be beleued to haue bene the han- dye worke of God, that our Shippes shoulde be there at this season, for that they might escape and carrye netwes of the discouerye of this Countrey, to ressoze in the same the holye Catholike Faith, otherwise if it had ben Summer he would haue hadde his flæte in a readinesse, the which was great, and so haue taken vs all, and by this meanes there hadde bene none leste to haue carryed netwes to Por- tingale.

Of the departure of the Captaine Generall from Calicut towarde Portingale, and what further happened vnto him being in the lland Anlandina. Cap. 22.



Although that the Captaine Generall re- ioyled very much for that hee had discou- red Calicut, yet he was not fully satisfied therewith altogether, for that the king had conceiued against him great displeasure, & by this meanes as he iudged the next flæte that the king his maister should send, would run in great daunger. Vowbeit perceiuing that it lay not in his power to do any more, he was therfore contented onely with the dis- couery, and to haue knowne the Indias, & of their nauigati- on, & what was commodious for the Countrey, and to haue brought with him from thence examples of the spices, drugs, and precious stones, as also of all other thinges that were within the same citie. And hauing there no more to doe, he departed, carrieng with him those Malabars which he had taken, for that by them he hoped to haue some agreement made with the king of Calicut at the retorne of anye other Flæte. The Thursday after his departure, being in calme a league of from Calicut, there came towarde him to a num- ber of 12. Tonys full of Souldiers, by the which the king of Calicut thought to haue taken them, who seeing them com- ming commaunded his ordinaunce to be shot of at them, & that oftentimes, and if he had not done so, they would haue put him in grate daunger for that they followed him an houre and a halfe. And by reason of a sholwe of raine which came vpon a sodaine, the Captaine Generall was driuen a sea boord with all his flæte, & in the meane while the enemies fledde their waye, and bearing this course towards Mylinde in great calmes, & that along the coast, thought god & conuenient although the king of Calicut had abused him sundry waies, that for the necessitie of those that should retorne to Calicut, should haue of his friendship and fauour to receiue from thence theyr lading of spices, to vse as it were some friendship with them, since that the king would be gladd thereof, in especiall being exalted, did therefore write vnto him a letter in the Arabian tongue,



tongue, which was penned in that language by Bontaybo, in the which he did craue pardon for the carrieng awaye of those Malabars with him, which was done for no other intent then that they shoulde be as witnesses of that the which he had discovered, as before he had sent him worde. And for that he leste no Factorie in Calicut (the which he was sorrie for) was for feare least that the Moors shoulde kill him, which was also the occasion that he was not often times a land. Yet for all that he did not leaue, but woulde be alwayes at his commaundement, since that the king his Master would be gladde of his friend shippe, and also forthwith woulde sende him in his flete greate abundaunce of all such merchaundise as he doth desiremaind for, by the trade that from hence forth he shoulde haue with the Portingales in his Citie, would redound vnto him great profit. This letter was deliuered vnto one of the Malabars to carry the same a land to the place wherent was comaded to be deliuered. And afterward he knewe the same was deliuered to y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut. Then y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general going forward in his course, & that along the coast, on the next Thursday after, he fell amongst certeine rocks, with all his flete, and from one of them that was inhabited there, came forth sundry Piracies with men, within the same to sell them fish, and other victualls. The Captaine Generall did receiue them very curteously, who commaunded to giue them both shirts and other things, of the which they were verie gladde, whereupon he toke occasion to aske them whether they woulde be content that there shoulde be erected a marke with a crosse in the same, with the royall armes of Portingale, in token that the Portingals are they<sup>r</sup> friends. And they answered that they were contented, and thereby they well knew that we were christians, and so was the marke placed, and since that time it is called El Padron de Sancta Maria. Now to this day by the foresaid name the rocke is called. From hence as soone as the night drew on and that the winde began to blowe of the shoare, the Captaine Generall made saile, and keeping alwaies

wayes along the coaste on the Thursday after, being the 19. of September he fell with a goodly high lande, and harde to the same there laye five little Ilandes, and there he came to an Anko, and going a lande to take in water did there finde a young man, which did demaund, concerning the Captaine Generall, whether he were a Moore or a Christian, they answered him that he was a christian. This he did as it was thought with feare, least that they should haue killed him, forsomuch as in that place there were no christians. This young man did carrie our men within a certeine riuer, & shewed them most excellent water the which issued out betwene certeine rocks, and for his paines they gaue him a red night cap. The next morning following there came from the land foure others in a small boate a boord the Captaine Generall, which brought with them to sell many gourds and Cowcombers, and they were demanded by the Generall whether there were in that Countrie any Cinamon or Pepper. They answered that there was nothing but Cinamon, and for that he was desirous to see the same, he sent with them two of his men, the which at their return brought w<sup>th</sup> them two grane boughs of certeine trees which they doe take to be the same, reporting that thereof, there was a great growe, howbeit the same was wilde. And at their retourne there came with them more then 20. of that Countrie men, which brought to sell hens, gourds, & Cowes milke. Also they requested the Captaine Generall to send with them certeine of his men, for that shortly after, they should retourne with greate store of drie Cinamon, Hogges, and Hennes, but for all their great offers, he would let none of his men goe, for that he feared least the same was some treason. The next daye after before dinner, our men going a lande to cut wode some, what farre of, from the place where they were, fell on a soddeine vpon two Boates, the which laye harde by the shoare side.

Cinamon  
growng.

The Captaine Generall woulde not immediatly procure to knowe what they were, till it was after Dinner,  
It. for

so: then he thought to know the same. And being in a readinesse to depart, did first commaund one of his Parriners to go vp to the top, to see whether that he could discry any other vessels a sea bo:rd or not, who being there tolde him that he had sight of eight great ships which wer incalmed, with this newes he left his going to see the others, & put himselfe in a readinesse, the winde was in such sort that it might serue them both, & as they came within two leagues of our flecte, the Captaine Generall made toward them. The enimies perceiuing that, did immediatly flye toward the shoure. And they bearing after this sorte, was broken the Rudder of one of the same, by reason whereof those that were within the ship were forced to go in their boats toward the lande. Nicholas Coello who was next to this ship, went immediatly and layde the same abo:rd, thinking indeede to finde in it some greate store of riches, howbeit there was nothing els but Cocas and Melafus, which is a certeine kinde of Sugar made of Palmes or Date trees. Also he founde therein manye bowes, arrowes, swordes, speares and targats, and the other seauen ranne themselves a ground, and so: that our men could not come nere vnto them with their ships, they followed them in their boates, and from thence did beate them with their ordinaunce, so that their enimies were driuen to leaue their shippes, and being yet the next day at an Anko: there came vnto him seauen men of the country in an Almadias, who tolde him that those eight ships were of Calicut, the which the king had sent so: to take him, as by those that fled away they vnderstood.

How the Captaine Generall went to Anсандina to take in water, & also how he toke there a Moore prisoner, which was seruant to the Lord of the Iland of Goa called Sabayo, the which was taken for a spie, cap. 25.

After



After that the Captaine Generall was thus informed, he would tarrie there no longer, but immediatlye came to an Anko: at the Ilande of Anсандina, the which was distant from thence as it were two Gunne shotte, where it was tolde him, there was excellent sweete water. This Iland is but little, and but a league of from the firme land. There are in the same many woods, and also two conduit heads, made of free stone of excellent sweete water, the which are springs and do rise ther, where of one is sixe fote deepe. Also in the sea about the sayde Iland is great store of fish. Before that the Mo:res did vse to traffike to the Indias, the same was inhabited by Gentiles, in the which there were goodly buildings, in especiall their Pagodes was a goodly thing. And after that the Mo:res which came from the red sea began to faile that way, they resorted thether alwayes to take in their water and wood, and did so abuse the inhabitants that they could not wel abide the same, so that they left their dwellings ther, but before their going away, they plucked downe almost all their Pagods, so that they left nothing standing but the berye Chappell, the lyke they did to all other their buildings, yet so: all that these Gentiles that wer of the firme land, which belong to the king of Narlingas, had to this Pagode such deuotion, that from thence they would goe sundry times to make in the same their praiers vnto three black stones that were lieng in the midst of the said Chappell.

The Iland is called Anсандina which in the Malabars language is called the fine Ilandes, so: that rounde about the same there lye the other foure. The Captaine Generall hauing come to an Anko:, sent Nicholas Coello with his companye to discouer the same, who founde it according as afore is declared, and a goodly place or ground, where they might helpe graue

Anсандina  
forsaken  
of the in-  
habitants

They re-  
paire  
their  
ships.

graue their ships. And for that the Captaine Generall had a great course to run, and also for that he knew not when to finde so conuenient a place, he consulted with the other Captaines to bring their shippes there a ground. The first ship that they brought there a ground, was the Shippe the which they called Berrio. And whilst they were thus occupied, there came many people to sell them victuals. At which time there came two small Brickentines that hadde out theyr Standers, and flagges in the toppes of theyr Mastes, and within them theyr Trumpettes and Drummes, whereupon they came playeng, at theyr pleasure. In these Brickentines there came manye men, and they all at the Vane, and along the Shore side there were other five which came to succour them if they shoulde haue anye neede.

The Captaine Generall after that hee hadde sight of them, had warning giuen him by the Malabars to beware of them, for that they were rouers, and vnder a couloure of peace, did robbe all that they coulde take. And after that hee was entered into his shippe, hee perceiued that hee might haue taken them if so be that hee woulde haue consented to lette them to come aboard him, but hee woulde not agree to the same. And therefore as soone as they came within Gunne shotte, commaunded all theyr Ordnance to be shot at them from those two shippes that were a floate. They fearing this shotte, gaue out a lowde voice crieng, Tambarane, Tambarane, for so they doe call God, and with this often shooting they fledde theyr way.

Nicholas Coello being as then in his Boate, went after them alwayes shooting his Ordnance, who pursued them so farre that the Captaine Generall was driuen to put by his flagge for a signe hee shoulde retourne, and so he did.

The next daye after the Captaine Generall with all his men being a land, working vpon the ship called Berrio, there came in two litle Paraos to the number of twelue men of the Countreis, the which in their apparel seemed to be of some

some countenaunce, who brought for a present a bundell of Sugar Canes, and immediately as soone as they had deliuered the same, they asked license to goe aboard and to see the ships, for that they neuer saw any before. The Captaine generall was greatly offended with this their request, for by that he feared least that they were spies: and whilst they were in this talke, there came thither other two Paraos, with as many more men. Those that came first, seeing that the Captaine generall was somewhat growen in choler, did tell those that came afterward, not to come a lande but to retourne againe. The ship Berrio being made in a redicelle, & afterward that the Generalls ship was brought a ground to be new rigged, and hauing a lande about hir, all the other Captaines, there came a man in a litle Parao, who seemed to be of the age of fortie yeares, and not of that Countrey, for that he had vpon him a Sabaco of fine Cotton, which reached downe to his heeles, and about his head a tucke or towell, which also couered part of his face, and at his girdell a faulchion or Skeyne. And as soone as he leapt a lande, he went immediately to embrace the Captaine generall as one that had sene him or known him before, and after the selfe same sort he blessed the other Captaines, telling them that he was a Christian, and borne in Italy, and that hee was brought into that Countrey of a childe, and that his dwelling was with a Noble man that was a Pore, called Sabayo the which was Lord of a certaine Iland called Goa, lieng about twelue leagues from thence, and had forty thousand horsemen within the sayd Iland. And for that his habitation was amongst the Pores, he obserued their lawe, howbeit it was but for an outward shew, but inwardly in his soule he was a Christian: and being in Sabayos house it was tolde him, that there was come by Sea to Calicut certaine men in ships, whereof there was neuer sene y like in the Indias, and that there were none that vnderstode their language, and also that their bodies were couered ouer with cloathes. And when he had vnderstanding of the same, he immediatlye iudged them to be Frangnes, for so they

Sugar  
Canes  
growing  
there.

they do call those that are Christians in that Countrey, and for that he was desirous to see them, had therefore asked licence of Sabayo, saying that if so be that he would not give him licence to goe and see them, that he knewe very well that he should dye with very thought and anger: by reason whereof he gave him licence, by whome he sent them word, that if so be that there were in his Countrey any thing y they had neede of, they should have the same, in especiall shippes and victualles. And moreover, if they would come and dwell in his Countrey, he would be very gladd thereof, and would give both them and theirs sufficient living, with the which they should live very honourably.

After that he had ended thus his talke, the Captaine generall asked him particularly for the Countrey of Sabayo, and other things: Whereupon he requested of the Captaine generall a chæse for to sende to a companion of his, which remained in the firme Lande, for that it was agreed betwene them, that if so be that he were well entertained, that he would sende unto him a token in signe thereof. This kinde of dealing made the Captaine generall suspect him, notwithstanding, he commaunded a chæse to be given him, and also two newe loaves, the which he sent to his companion as aforesaide, and he remained alwayes talking with the Captaine Generall: His talke was so much, that some times he discovered himselfe to be a spye.

Paulo de la Gama, which noted the same, asked of certaine countrey men what he was, and they up and tolde him, that he was a Kour, and that he had laide aboarde other Shippes, which had bene there brought a grounde before that time. The Captaine Generall being thereof informed, commaunded him to be carried aboarde his shippe, which was then a grounde, and there he commaunded him to be well whipped to confesse, whether that all or anye parte of the same was true that he had tolde him, and also what he meant by his coming thither, and whether he were a Spyre or a Christian, who

answered that he was a Christian as he had said before, al the rest he denied, & therefore the General sought one other more cruell torment then whipping, which was by hanging of him up by his members by a pulley, to hoist him up and downe: and by the great paine which he suffered there, he requested to be let downe, for that as then he would tell him the truth: and being come downe, he declared that he was a spye, and was sent thither, to discover how manye men the Captaine generall had, and what weapons, for so much as he was ill beloued along all that Coast, because he was a Christian. And that there were manye Atalayas or Foyts placed in euery Baye or Rricke to set vpon him: howbeit they durst not untill such time as there came thither other fortie great Vessells, which were a making in a readinesse for to ioyne with those that are armed, and so to set vpon him, and to take him: and therefore in the meane space he was sent to knowe what he sayd, he affirmed also, that he knewe not certainlye, when those fortie sayle would come. This much he declared after that he had received three or foure torments: all the rest they understood by coniectures, for so much as he did not particularly declare the same.

The Captaine generall seeing that he would declare no more, was contented with the aduite he had given him, and commaunded him to prison vnder the hatches, for to carrie with him vnto Portingale: also to be cured very well, and to give him some refreshing of victualles. Afterward he tolde him that he did not minde to keepe him prisoner to haue him as his Captiue, but to carie him vnto the King his Master, to the ende he might tell him some newes of the Indias, knowing very well that he would rewarde him. Now the Captaine generall hauing knowledge of the coming of his enemies, would therefore carrie no longer then whilest his ship was new dressing, the which was done in ten dayes.

At this instant the Captaine generall was offered for the shippe, the which shippe he had taken of the eight, that

A notable counterfeit discovered

A kinde of boates so called

did set vpon him a thousand fanons, but he wold not take it, saing that he wold not sell any thing y was his enemies, but commaunded the same to be burnt. The Captaine Generalls ship being ready and the water being taken in, he immediately departed vpon the fifth daye of October, and going a Sea bord, about a two hundred leagues from that Island, then the Dore which he caried with him as prisoner, seeing there was no other remedie, said, that now he wold tell him the truth how that indeede he did dwell with the Sabayo, to whom word was brought that the Captaine generall went wandring vpon the Seas, as one that knewe not where he was, and therefore there was in preparing a great flete for to take him. The Sabayo hauing notice thereof, commaunded him to goe thither to visite him, and to marke how they went, and also to see whether that he could bring them to Goa, which if so be that he could bring to passe, he wold as then laye hand vpon them, for that the same went that they were valpant, and so meant to kepe them to make warres against other Kings his next neighbours. These newes the Captaine Generall was glad to heare of, and gaue him from thenceforth better entertainment, & allowed him both apparell and also money, & afterward he was made a Christian, to whom he gaue for name Gaspar, in honour of one of the three Kings, called Magus of that name, and for that the Captaine generall was his God father, he gaue him the title of his surname, and so euer after he was called Gaspar de la Gamas.

How the Captaine generall went forwarde on his Voyage toward Mylynde, and of the great troubles he past, vntill such time as he came thither. Chap. 26.

Following



Following from hence his course towards Mylynde, whether he was minded to returne to take in there an Embassadour, he went alwayes in cruell stormes, which the Captaine generall continually endured, vntill such time he had entered the goulfe, & hauing alwayes the winde right against him, it was the occasion that the shippes made but small way, and therefore it was the longer time before he entered the gulfe. But after that he was entered within the same, he was again troubled with great calmes, which on the Sea is very troublesome, not only for the gouerning of their ships, but also with the heat, which is more hurtfull vpon the sea, then vpon the land, for that ther is no couering to defend the Sunne, whereon with the same only men are stifled up, as hath bene scene in the voyage toward the Indias. And as I say the winde hauing coursed thus with the heates, the space of many dayes together, did afterward returne and breake bp in contrary windes to go for ward, and very good to goe backward. But the Captaine generall being loath to go backward, wold yet rather taxie ther whet he was, as indeed he did. And when he perceiued that the winde was so great and the Seas went so high, that there was no farrieng for him with his shippes, then was he driuen of force to kepe the Seas, sometime on this bord, and sometime that; so that both he and his men passed great troubles, by reason they all had inough to doe to gouerne their ships. And hoping that after so great stormes there would come faire weather, were driuen once more to pray for those great calmes which they had before. And when they saue that this weather was like to endure many dayes, and that their water beganne to fayle them, was the occasion that the Captaine Generall commaunded the same to be deliuered by order.

Men stifled with the Sunne only.

S.

And

A Moore christened

And going in this necessitie, and also with fowle weather, the people began to fall sicke with a diseale in their gums, as they did in the river, De buenas Sennals, when as they went to Calicut, & also their armes and legs did swell, besides other swellings which did rise in their bodies, by reason of a pestilent stinking humour, which did cast them into a laste, and of this new infinitie, there dyed to the number of thirtie persons. And after that they began once to die, and had continued this kinde of weather, vppon the Seas, ther arose such a feare amongst those that did remain aliue, that they fared in the same; as it were men amazed, and beleued verely that they should neuer goe from thence, for that as they thought this kinde of weather was alwayes durable there, and that the same was the cause that it indured so long. The Masters and Pilots of the Flote were of the lyke opinion, which made the rest beleue it the soner, that by this meanes the crye of all those that were there, as well of them that were sicke as of the other, was great, saying that since the weather would not serue them to goe from thence, yet they requested him not to be an occasion of their death, but rather consent to retourne into Calicut, or els to some other place in the Indias, and being ther, to receiue what God shuld appoint them, rather then to dye in those seas of so ferrible diseases, for which ther was no likelihood of any remedie, in especiall hauing lacke of all other things, as of victuals and water, which as then they began to want; by reason that by their long continuance in the said place was all spent. The Captaine generall seeing the great feare that his men were in, and for to animate them the more, sayd vnto them all on this sorte, requesting them to be content, and not to beleue that such weather as was there coursed by them on that sorte, was alwayes lyke to continue, for if so be that it were so, then there woulde be no nauigation from the Goulph to the Strayghtes of Mecca, nor to Mylynde, nor yet from anye other place, by the which they shoulde passe: And that it was not impossible, but that they might somewhat digresse from their

their right course, and therefore they met with these calmes and windes which they indured, yet those he saue should haue an ende, and with the same, their troubles will lykewise ende.

But for all this, the Marriners woulde not beleue him, for that in this trouble they had continued foure monethes, and also that there were dead of theyr fellowes, thirtie persons: so that there were so fewe of them remaining, that there was not to euery ship sixtene persons left to gouerne the same: and of them there were some, that were verie sicke of the diseale aboue sayde. By this meanes they fell into such a desperation, by reason that they thought they shoulde goe no further, and as they doe affirme, that Paulo de la Gama, and Nicholas Coello, being both of them Captaines made agreement each of them in theyr Shippes to the other, that if so be that there woulde come anye Winde, by the which they might retourne into the Indias, that then they woulde surely doe so.

A vofull  
mortallitie

Being thus determined, vppon a sodayne there came a fresh gale of Winde, with the which the Flote might goe forwarde, and with the same in sixtene dayes they came within sight of lande, being on a Wednesday the seconde of Februarye: at the which the Marriners reioyced in such sort that by meanes of the same, they had forgotten theyr troubles and daungers that they were past, and gaue vnto God great thanks for all his gracious benefites.

And when that they hadde sight of the Lande, they founde themselves so nere vnto it, that the Captaine generall gaue commaundement to cast about into the Sea, so much as might be thought sufficient for to staye vntill the morning, the which being come, they went forth with for to reknowledge the Lande, and for to see where they were, for that as now there was none that knewe the same, although that one of the Moors sayde, that they hadde then taken theyr Course directiue towardes



The Citie  
of Maga-  
doxo.

Monſanbique, which ſtandeth betwene certaine Ilandes, ſtanding ouer againſt them, thre hundred leagues of the ſhoare, whereas the people of the ſame Countrey are continually ſicke of the ſame diſeaſe, that our men were. The morning being come he went to reknowledge the land, and came beſore a goodly great Citie, which was walled round about and within the ſame, very faire and high houſes, and in the miſt of the ſame there was a great Wallaice, which ſtood very high, and ſeemed to be of a goodly building, all this they ſaw very well out of their ſhips. This Citie is called Magadoxo, which ſtandeth at the ende of the ſaid goulfe in the Coaſt of Aethiopia, a hundred & thirteene leagues from Mylynde, the ſituation whereof I ſhall declare hereafter. And ſo that the Captaine generall knew the ſame to be a Citie of Mozes; when as he went along the Coaſt, he commaunded to ſhoote of manye peeces of Ordnance, and alſo ſo that he coulde not tell how farre he was from Mylynde, from thence ſo forward he ſtayed in the night, becauſe he would not paſſe the ſame. Forthwith, on Saturday being the fifth of February, lieng ouer againſt a village of the Mozes, which they call Pate, being a hundred and thre leagues from Magadoxo, there came from thence eight Terradas which is a certaine kinde of Boates of that Countrey, being all full of Souldiours, and made theyr waye ſtraight towarde our flote, from whence we ſhot ſo many peeces of Ordnance, that they thought themſelues happy to haue eſcaped by running awaye. Howbeit our men did not followe them ſo lacke of winde. The next Monday following, the Generall arrived at Mylynde, and being there, the king ſent to viſite the Captaine Generall with ſundrye freſh victuals, ſending him word alſo, how glad he was of his comming. The Generall answered him againe, by Fernan Martines, by whome he ſent him a Preſent: and ſo becauſe of thoſe that were ſicke, whome he was deſirous to haue cured, he tarried there ſixe dayes, in the which time, there died of them many.

At

At this preſent by the kings liſenſe, he cauſed to be ſet a land a marke, in token of frienſhip. And after that he had provided himſelfe of victuals, he departed on a wedneſday in the morning, being the xvii. of February, with an Embaſſadour whome the king did ſende, to the king of Portingale, ſo a perpetuall confirmation of frienſhippe beſeigne them.

Of the death of the Captaine Generalls brother, and of the burning of one of the ſhips called Saint Raphael, & alſo how he arrived in Portingale, and of the honour the king gaue him at their meeting. cap. 27.



Now ſo that the Captaine Generall had not men enough to gouerne the whole flote, he thought good and that by the aduiſe of the other Captaines, to burne one of thoſe ſhippes, and that the ſame ſhould be Saint Raphael, which they determined to doe the rather, ſo ſomuch as the ſame was al open, and they had not brought him a grounde as they did the others, and alſo determined to burne the ſame vpon the ſhoels of Saint Raphael, vnto which place they came on the Sunday following, where (what ſo taking in of her furniture, as alſo ſo burning the ſame) he ſpent ſixe daies, and during that time from a village the which is called Tangata, there were brought to ſell many hens. This being done the Captaine Generall departed, hauing with him in his ſhippe his brother called Paulo de la Gama, and on the xx. of February he found himſelfe with onely Nicholas Coello in the Iland of Zenziber, which ſtandeth in the altitude of ſixe degrees, lieng but ten leagues from the firme land. This Iland is verie greate with the other two that ſtandeth nere vnto it, whereof the one is called Pemba, and the other Moſya, and are verie fertill, and haue in them great ſtoze of victuals. Their groves are of Drenges

The Raphael  
burned.

The Ile  
of Zenzi-  
ber.

S.iii.

trés,

trées, which bringeth forth goodly Oranges. They are inhabited by Moors, which are but a weake kinde of people, and they haue but small store of weapons, notwithstanding they goe very well appparelled, in silke and fine cloath made of Cotten, the which they doe buye in Mombassa, of Merchants of Cambayo. The women haue store of Iewells of golde from Sofala, and of siluer from the Iland of Saint Lawrence. They are merchants & their trade is in the firme land, and thether they do carry victuals to sell in litle boats. Each of these Ilands hath a king of himselfe, the which also doe obserue Mahomets lawe as all the rest of the subtectes doe.

As soon as the king of Zenziber hearde that the Captaine Generall was there arrived, he sent to visit him and sent him great presents of the fruits of the country, requesting him of his friendship, to the which he agréed. After all this he departed on the first of March, and came to an Ankor before the Ilands of Saint George in Monsambique, and the next day after he sent a marke to be erected within that Ilande, where at his going thether he heard Masse, & without any conuersation with those of Monsambique he departed. And on the third of March he came to the Iland of Saint Blase, where he stayed to take in his water, and to victuall himselfe of Sea woulfes, and of Solitarius, which they salted to eate whilest they were on the sea, and for the same they gaue God great thanks. After that they were departed from thence (being once before putte back with westerly winds) which blew right against them, God of his goodnes sent them so prosperous a winde, that on the twentieth of March, they hadde doubled the Cape of Buena Esperansa with great pleasure, forsomuch as all those that came thether were all in health and verie strong, and as they thought were all in good liking to arrive at Lisbonne.

And finding here a colde Winde which endured well twentye dayes, did set them in a good forwardnesse towards the Ilande of Santiago, which by the Sea cardes was

was by the Pilots we known not to be at the uttermost a hundred leagues from thence. Some there were that thought themselves to be with the same, but it was not so.

Here that goodly and fayre winde did faile them, and forsomuch as the Captaine Generall would needs knowe where that he was, (for that hee could not tell) by reason there fell certaine showres which came from the landward, he commaunded to make as much waye as they could possible. And going after this sorte, on Thursdays being the xvj. of Aprill, he commaunded the Pilot to let fall his Plonnet, who founde that they were in xv. fathome.

Yet in all that daye, sailing and keeping the selfe same course, the least water that they came to, was at xx. fathome, and therefore the Pilottes iudged themselves to be vpon the shoels Del zio Grands. All the rest of this voyage perticularlye what adventures the Captaine Generall did passe, vntill such time as he came to the Ilande of Santiago, I coulde not come to the knowledge thereof, but only how that as they went nere to the same, Nicholas Coello to carry the king newes of this discovery, did on a certaine night a parte himselfe from the Captaine Generall, and followed his course vnto Portingale, where hee arrived at a place called Cascais on the v. of July, in the yeare of our Lorde God, 1499. who informed the king of all that the Captaine Generall hadde past in the discovery of the Indias, and of the commodities that he had brought with him from thence. Of whose discovery the king was so gladde to heare of, and that they might trade into the Indias by sea, as when he was proclaimed king of the kingdomes of Portingale. Now after that the Captaine Generall founde missing Nicholas Coello hee went forward on his course towards the Ilande of Santiago, for because his Brother was verie sicke of a Typhicke, and also for that his Shippe made but small waye, for that the was all open, and therefore hee did

did fraight there a Caruell which he found there for to car-  
rye him to Portingale before that he should dye, who left  
there Iohn de Sala for Captaine of his ship as I sayd be-  
fore, who as soone as the ship was new rigged, had charge  
to bring the same to Portingale, from the which place the  
Generall departed, with his brother in the Caruell, whose  
infirmite did dayly increase, in such sort that the Captaine  
Generall was driuen to beare with the Island of the Ter-  
ceras. And being there arrived, commaunded that his bro-  
ther might be brought a lande, where he was so cruellye  
handled with his disease that he dyed thereof, who at his  
end shewed himselfe to be a good and perfect chistian, and  
a very honest Gentleman. After that he was dead and bu-  
ried, the Captaine Generall departed toward Portingale,  
who came to Belen in the moneth of September, in the  
selfe same yere. 1499. being two yere & two moneths past  
after his departure from Lishborne, with 108. men & of them  
came backe but fiftie aliue, which considering they great  
trauaile and trouble that they had past, was verve much.  
After that the Captaine Generall had given God greates  
thanks for that he had escaped so many great daungers, he  
sent word of his arriuall vnto the king of Portingale, who  
for the great pleasure that he receiued of his coming sent  
Don Diego de la Silua de Mençis, Lord of Portugalete,  
with many other Gentlemen to receiue him as they did, &  
brought him vnto his court with an exceeding great number of  
people, that came thither to see so new & rare a matter, as  
that was of his Captaine General, not onely for that he had  
done, but also for that they took him for dead: being come  
to the kings presence, his highnesse gaue him so great an  
honour as such a one deserued, who by the discouerie of the  
Indias, did giue so great a glorie vnto the eternall God,  
and honour and profit to the crowne and kingdome of Por-  
tingale, and a perpetuall fame to all the world. Afterward  
he made him knight, & to him and to his heires for ever he  
gaue for armes the royal armes of Portingale, & also to set  
at the foote of the Scutchin two Does the which they call  
Gammas,

Gamas. Also he gaue him toward this his liuing three  
hundred thousand Ceis a yere, the which may be worth of  
our money 200. pound a yere, and this to be paid out  
of the tiths of the fish in the village of Sinis. Moreover hee  
promised him to make him Lord of the said village, for so  
much as he was borne there. And vntill such time that he  
could giue him his same, he allowed him a thousand crowns  
a yere, the which he did well perfourme, from that time  
forwarde, and after that he had receiued the possession ther-  
of, he did passe it ouer vnto the house appointed, for the con-  
traction of the Indias. Moreover he graunted him that af-  
ter the trade of the Indias was setteled or established, that  
then he might lade for his own account to the sum of 200.  
Duckats in spices, & that without paieng for the same any  
custome at all. Also he gaue him other possessions & rents  
and a bill of remembraunce to make him Lorde. As for  
Nicholas Coello, he made him a Gentleman of his house,  
and gaue him possessions, and did allowe him some recom-  
pence toward his charges. The king himselfe with this  
new discouerie did increase his titles with a newe and a  
famous stile, of Lorde of the conquest and nauigation of  
Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and of the Indias.

How the king of Portingale did nominate A pe-  
dro al Verez Cabral for Captaine Generall of  
a Fleete toward Calicut, for to settle there a  
factorie, and of his departure from Lishborne.  
Chap. 28.



Being certainlye knowne to the king of  
Portingale, that from his kingdome there  
is a nauigation to the Indias, and also of  
the innumerable riches, that there are in  
those parts among the Gentiles, sundrye  
Christians, did therfore determine to pro-  
secute and followe the discouerye of the same, giuing all  
praise and laude vnto the eternall God, for his great bene-  
fits

The pre-  
paration  
vnto his  
cond voi-  
age.

sits, that he hath bestowed upon him, to let him be the first that hath discovered this new world, the which hath all wayes bene so close upon the Sea, that there hath bene none in all Europe that durst adventure that waye. But hee not rememb'ring the trouble of his spirit, neyther yet the spending of his treasure, nor the danger of his subjects, would nevertheless take this most perilous enterprise in hand, for that there might be in the Indies published the Evangelicall lawe, to the ends that those kinde of lost people, might receive the same; as also for the increasing, not onely of his owne treasure, but generally the benefite of all his subiects.

And that the same might take the better effect, hee determined to give the attempt (if it were possible) to settle a Factorie in Calycut by gentlenesse, for as hee once understode that the dwellers in the same were inclined to trade, he thought that after this sort there wold grow betwene them and his conuersation, and so a friendship, the which might be an occasion that they woulde incline themselves to heare the worde of God preached. And being thus fully determined, hee commaunded to be in a readinesse against the next yeare following, a flete of ten shippes and two Caruells, which shoulde goe well laden with all such thinges as Vasco de la Gama shoulde informe him to be spent in Calycut. Also there went others towarde Sofala and Quylua, where also hee commaunded certeine Factories to be setteled, not onely for the golde which they haue there, but also that they shippes might alwayes touch there. And concerning such as shoulde be appointed for Calycut, he named for Captaine Generall of this flete, a Gentleman called Pedro Aluares Cabral, who came of an honourable hoyle of the Cabralls, and for his pettie Captaine, a Gentleman called Sancho de Toar. The names of the other Captaines as manye as I knowe were these, Nicholas Coello, Don Luis continuo, Simon de Myseranda, Simon Eyston, Bartholome Dyas, who discovered the Cape Buena Esperansa, Dyego Dyas, his

The names of the Generall, Captaine, & Factors.

his brother, & which went before for purser with Vasco de la Gama. Those that wer Captaines of 2 Caruells were one Pedro de Taide, and Vasco de la Siluera, and for Factor of the whole flete, was one Aries Correa, who likewise shoulde remaine for Factor in Calycut, and for his clerkes there were appointed one named Gonfalo Gyl Barbasa, & Pedro vas Canion. Of this flete there shoulde remaine and stae with the Merchants and Merchandise in Sofala two shippes, and with the same shoulde continue for Factor one called Loriso Hurdato. In this flete ther went 1700. men. The Articles which the Captaine Generall carryed in his instructions, besides those of the setting of the Factorie was, & if so be the king of Calycut would not quietly consēt, or give sufficient lading, for those shippes which he carryed, not consent to haue the factorie settled there: That then he shoulde make him most cruell war, for the injury which he shoulde do vnto Vasco de la Gama. And if so be that the Factorie might be quietly setteled, then he shoulde request the king in secret that he doe not consent in Calycut, or in anye other of his harbours, belonging to his kingdome, any of the Voyes of Meca to remaine ther, for so much as hee wold send him from hence forth all such Merchandise as they doe bring, and that farre better cheap then they doe sell the same. Moreover, that in theyr waye they doe touch at Milinde to let ther a land the Embassado, which Vasco de la Gama brought from thence, and to sende the king a present. Also the king did send with the flete five Friars of the order of Saint Fraunces, of whome went for Vicar, a frier called Fraij Henrique, the which was afterwards Bishop of Siebta, and he to remaine in the Factorie, to preach the Catholike faith vnto the Malabars. The flete being dispatched, the king in person on Sunday being the viii. of March went to heare Masse at the Monastierie of Belem, going thether in Procession, hauing the Captaine Generall, the which heard Masse with him, with in the curten, for on that sort, he ment to give honour to such as did serue him in such dangerous affaires as this was.

Friers sent to the Malabars.

The Masse was said after the Portingale order, and at the same there was a Sermon made by Don Diego Ortiz, who was then Bishoppe of Vyleu, who gaue great praise vnto the Captaine Generall for accepting the saide voyage at the kings hands, since that therby he did not onely serue the king, who is his temporall Lord, but also the eternall God, who is spirituall. And also that euery one might wel know that none of all the nobles, the which are so highlye commended as well in the Grecian histories as in the Latine and barbarous, was equall vnto the Captaine Generall in taking vpon him this voyage. And further he gaue him other greates prayles for the which hee was enuyed at, the Masse being ended, there was a Banner which had the royall armes of Portingale, vpon the same deliuered vnto the Bishoppe, who after that hee had blessed the same, the king with his owne hand did deliuer it vnto the Captaine Generall, for to bestowe it in his maine toppe. And after that hee had receiued the same, he tooke at the Bishopps hands a bonnet or night cap the which the Pope had blest, and sent for a great ieuell, and with his owne hands did put the same on the Captaine Generalls head, saying that he did present vnto him a ieuell the which he did much esteeme. And afterward that the Bishop had giuen him his blessing, the king with the same did accompanie him to the water side, where the Captaine generall with all the Captaines of the flæte tooke their leaue of the king, and did kisse his hands, and the king gaue them Gods blessing & his, with the which they went all a boorde, from whence they shot off all the ordinance that was in the flæte, the which made a wonderfull noise. The king being returned to Lisbonne, for that the flæte could not that daye depart, by reason of the weather. The next daye which was the ninth of March, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1500. hauing a sufficient good gale of winde, with the which the flæte might goe out of the Riuer. The Captaine Generall did then make a signe that the rest of the flæte shoulde wepe their Ankoys, the which immediatlye they did

A ieuell  
of great  
price.

did begin with great diligence and triumph that the Mariners made. And when it was eight of the clocke in y morning the whole flæte hauing wayed, did then begin to cut and spread their sayles with a great pleasure, and crie saying altogether, Buen viage, that is to say, A luckie and prosperous voyage. After all this they beganne all to be ioyfull, euery man to vse his seuerall office, the Gouernour in the midst of the ship, haling the maine sheetes, with the Capteine. The Mariners and ship boyes, some in the forecassell haling bollings, bzates, and Martnets: other belying the sheetes both great and small, and also seruing in trimming the sayles, and others the nettings and foretop sayles, other some vering the trusses and also beleying bzates and toppe sayle sheetes, and coryling euery sort of ropes. It was wonderfull to see such a number of diuersities of offices, in so small a rowme, as is the bredth and length of a ship. All the flæte being vnder sayle, departed that daye without anye stay by a quarter winde, and being with the same vnder sayle, on the xiiij. of March, they came within the sight of the Canaries, and on the xxij. of the same moneth, they past by the Island called Santiago, and on the xxiii. of the same moneth, they lost the company of one of their ships, of the which went for Captaine one Vasco de Tayde, who was Captaine of the flæte also, although he neuer declared the same, the which neuer after was scene.

¶ How the Captaine generall came vnto Brasill, and afterward how there was lost foure ships of the Fleete. Chap. 29.



His ship being thus gone, the Captaine generall tarried for the same two dayes, and on the xxiii. of Aprill they did descry land, of the which they were verie glad, not only for that they had discovered the same, but because that the Pilots supposed the same

¶ iiij.

same

same to be some other land, that Vasco de la Gama had not discovered, for that it stood to the East, and immediately the Captaine Generall commaunded his Master to goe in his small boate and to see what kinde of people were those that dwelt in the sayd Countrey, who returned with an answer, saying, that the same lande was a goodly fayre and fertill Countrey, in the which there were great store of woods, and that there walked many men along the water side: with this newes, the Captaine generall came to an Anchor, & sent once more his Master with great diligence to informe himselfe of the Countrey and of their dwellings, and found that the people were of colour somewhat blacke, and men well proportioned, howbeit they went all naked, having both bowes and arrowes. But when night was come, there fell so great a storme that the Captaine generall with all the rest of the flete, were faine to wey them Anchors, and runne along the Coast, untill such time as they found a good Port, in the which they came to an Anchor, vnto the which the Captaine generall did giue for name, Puerto seguro, forsomuch as the same serued for all weathers. There our men took two men of that Countrey, the which went in an Alcora, who were brought before the Captaine generall, that he might informe himselfe what Countrey that was, which could not be known notwithstanding, forsomuch as there was none in all the flete that could vnderstand them, by any tokens or signes. The Captaine generall seeing y<sup>e</sup> ther was no meanes for to informe himselfe by the, commaunding to giue them apparell, y<sup>e</sup> the others might be desirous to bring the victuals to sel, w<sup>th</sup> other things which they had in their countrey, & with this they went their way, w<sup>th</sup> great ioy of y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generalls gift. And when they were come a land amongst their companions, & they perceiued their good entertainment, did aduenture to come to conferre with our men. The Captaine generall finding himselfe indifferently in this countrey, did determine to take in fresh water to comfort his men w<sup>th</sup>, for y<sup>e</sup> he knew not when he should chance w<sup>th</sup> like opportunitie. And for y<sup>e</sup> God might y<sup>e</sup> rather aid the,

he

he commaunded on y<sup>e</sup> next day, which was on Easter weeke, a Masse should be said a land, y<sup>e</sup> which was so done w<sup>th</sup> great solemnitie & that vnder a pavillion, in which ther was made a Sermon by Fraij Henrique, Doctor of Diuinitie. And whillett y<sup>e</sup> diuine seruice was a celebrating, there assembled many of y<sup>e</sup> countrey people together, which helued theselues to be very merry w<sup>th</sup> plaieng & leaping which they made, besides their sounding vpon cornets, horns, & other instrumētts. After Masse was ended, & that y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall was going a ship board, these people went vnto him until he took his boat, singing & making a thousand manner of pastimes: this day after dinner, y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall gaue our men license to go a land to buy & sell w<sup>th</sup> them, which they did, & in truck of paper & cloth they gaue them parrats, & other sundry sort of birds, which were all very faire, wherof they haue great abundance, with the which they make feathered hats & night caps, which are very gallant. Some of our men y<sup>e</sup> went to see their towries do declare y<sup>e</sup> the same is a goodly countrey & fertill of woods, w<sup>th</sup> great store of goodly waters, & plentie of fruits, & that ther is gathered in y<sup>e</sup> same gret quantitie of cotton. And for y<sup>e</sup> this countrey is y<sup>e</sup> which we cal Brasil, which to all men is common, I will not speake of y<sup>e</sup> same further, but only y<sup>e</sup> in viii. daies that y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall said ther, was scene a fish which y<sup>e</sup> sea did cast a land, y<sup>e</sup> was greater then any Tonel, & of y<sup>e</sup> bredth of two of the, howbeit he was round: y<sup>e</sup> head & eyes were much like vnto a hogge, his eares like vnto an Elephants, he had no teeth, but vnder his belly he had two issues, his taile was three quarters of a yard in bredth, & as much in length, his skinned, was lyke vnto a Hogges skinned, which was a finger thicke. In this Islande the Captaine generall commaunded to be erected a high Crosse of stone, and therfore he gaue the same to name La tierra de Santa Crus. From hence he sent a Caruell which he brought forth with him for the same purpose, with letters vnto the King his Lorde, of all that which had chaunced him vnto this place, and how that he had left there two bannished men of those twentie, the which

Ornamētts made of Parrats feathers.

The countrey of Brasil discovered

he



A Comet  
scene in  
the elemēt

he carried with him, to the ende they might better enforme themselves what Countrey that same was, and whether it were a firme lande, as it did appeare vnto them all, by the great distance of the Coast that they had found, and because of the great voyage which he had taken in hande to make, he could not send to know perfectly. With this Caruel he sent a man of that Countrey for a shew, by what kinde of people the same was inhabited. This Caruell being departed, the next day after being the second day of May, the Captain generall departed with all his flete, bearing his course toward the Cape Buena esperanza, the which was from thence almost 1200. leagues; which is a great and fearfull gulph to passe, by reason of the great windes which doe course in those partes, most of the time. And being vnder sayle in the same, on the xii. of Maye there appeared in the Element a great Comet with his beames, the which came out of the Orient, and for the space of 1. dayes did alwayes appeare as well in the night as in the daye, alwayes enlarging his beames. On Saturday being the xxiii. of May, there came amongst all the flete such a storme from the North-east, that all the flete was faine to take in their sayles, hauing the Seas very high mingled with pretie showres of raine. And for that the same storme was afterwarde somewhat abated, they brought themselves vnder their foresayles againe, and at night the winde being altogether calme, such ships as wer left behind, did spred out also their sprit saile, to ouertake those y went before. And going by after windes, & following their course by the South, the Sunday being the xxiiii. of May, the winde beganne to increase, which was the occasion that the Capitaine generall commanded their sayles to be taken in, and to fardle vp their sprits sailes, the which being done, the like did all the other Captaines, and going on this sort on Sunday, betwene x. and xi. of the clocke of the day, did begin to arise in the North-west a spowte, with the which the winde calmed in such sorte, that the sailes did beate against the Mast, and the Pilots being (not as yet acquainted with the secret signification of a spowte) for that they

they had not trauayled those Seas, thought the same to be a signe of faire weather, and of great calmes: by reason whereof, they neuer made any kinde of alteration in any thing, appertaining to their sayles. Upon this on a Sundaye, there came such a winde and so furious, that then they had no time to amayne and take in theyr sayles, by reason whereof, there were foure Shippes sunke without escaping one person of them all, and of one of these was Captayne one Bartholomew Dias. The other seauen remayned halfe full of water, which they had taken in, which lykelike had sunke, if so be that parte of theyr sayles had not bene tozne.

four ships  
sunke by  
tempest,

And after that the winde verred to the South-west they bare with the same, the which was so great that they were driuen to rone all that daye and the next night following without sailes, so that the one could not see the other, & howsoeuer as yet the returne of any other wind was not come, they were driuen to such daunger that they thought thereby they should lose their liues, so much as the rest of the flete was so cast away before their eyes, wherewith they were stroken into a very great pensiuenesse. The next day the winde being somewhat incalmed, with the same the flete did ioyne themselves together againe, and immediately after, the winde came to the East and North-east, which was so great that it made the Seas to goe higher then euer they did before, and so the same endured the space of xx. dayes: and all this time the shippes laye a hull, although they proued fye times to hoyle by their sayles, as aforesaid. Now the Seas went so high to all theyr iudgements, they thought it impossible for the shippes to escape: for ouer and besides that, by the working of them it was thought, that sometime they did hoyle by theyr shippes about the Element, and other times when the shippes began to descend, they fell as it were downe a monstrous hill, that they feared they should be all swallowed vp in the Entralles of the Earth.

A vnder  
full storme  
and great  
Seas.

In the daye the water was of the colour of pitch, and

W,

in

in the night of fire. The tackling with the other furniture of the Shippes, with the great force of the winde, made such a terrible noyse, and was so fearefull to heare, that the same is incredible to be beleued, but by those onely that endured and passed the same, with the force of this, the Fléete was separated into sundry places. The Capitaine Generall bare vp with Symon de Myranda, and Pedro de Tayde, whether the winde would carry them: all the others went at Gods mercie.

Of the meeting of the King of Quiloa & the Capitaine generall, at which time there was set downe a Trade and Factorie, and how the King repented himselfe of the same afterward. Cap. 30.



After that the Capitaine Generall had past with parte of his Fléete, these great stormes bidde finde himselfe to haue doubled the Cape, without anye sight of the same, hauing in his company no more then two Shippes, which bare alwayes vp with him. And the Lorde hauing vled alwaies towarde them his wonderfull great mercie, he came within sight of the lande the sixteenth day of July, towarde the which he commaunded to beare, howbeit the Pilots did not knowe the same, notwithstanding they found that it stode in the altitude of xxvii. degrees, they were so nere vnto lande, that the Shippes laye with their beake heads close to the same. But the Capitaine generall would not consent that anye of his men shoulde goe a lande: yet from their Shippes they might easlye perceiue, that the same was well inhabited,

for

for the great number of people they did see there, and yet of all those there came none to the water side, to see what we were.

After that he sawe that there was no hope to haue anye refreshing from thence, hee did afterwarde procure the same from the Sea, where there was great plentie of fish, where our men was driuen to fish for it. Afterwarde the Capitaine generall commaunded to weye their Ankers, and to followe his course, so nere vnto the shore, that he might well see great numbers and store of sundrye beastes, which fed along the Riuer, that entred into the Sea, and also they sawe many people.

Now going on that sort, the Capitaine generall did passe vnto Sofala, with the which as yet the Pilot was not acquainted, and being nere to the same, he sawe two Ilandes and right ouer against one of them there was riding at an Anker two Shippes, which as soone as they had discovered our Fléete, did beginne to flye alwaye towarde the shore. And for that the Capitaine generall sawe that they fledde, he commaunded to followe them, which was done in such sort that our men did ouertake them, and tooke some of them prisoners, for that they did not defende themselves, and concerning the chiefe person that was in these Shippes, the Capitaine Generall was aduertised that he was the King of Mylyndes nere kinsman, and was going from Sofala laden with Golde to Mylynde. Who confessed, that when they had descryed our Ships, they receiued such a feare, as though they shoulde be taken, and that therefore they did throwe the most part of theyr Golde into the Sea, and they themselves ranne a lande.

They cōe  
to Sofala

After that all this was done, the Capitaine general told him that he was very sorry for theyr so great mischance & losse, in especially for so much as the King of Mylynde was in so great a credite with the King of Portugale his Master, which is the occasion, that all Portugales are and shall be alwayes at his commaundement. And hauing shewed

¶ ii.

vnto

## The Conquest

unto him great courtesie, he commaunded the Shippes to be retourned with all the golde they hadde founde in the same.

The Moze asked of him whether he had brought with him any Witches, that they might with words of enchantment fetch vp such golde as was thzowen into the Sea. To whom the Captaine generall made aunſwere, that the Chriſtians doe beleue in the true God, who hath and doth defende them ſo, that they doe not uſe nor beleue in witchcraft, and therefore they do not uſe the ſame. Of this Moze the Captaine generall was aduertised, that he hadde ſomewhat ouer runne Sofala, and ſo that he would not returne backe, he did at this time leaue it, and hauing diſpatched the Moze, followed his courſe, and on the xx. of July arrived at Monſambique, where he toke in his water, and a Pilot to carry him to the Iſlande of Quiloa, toward the which he directed his courſe, running along the Coaſt. In this his voyage he ſaw ſundry profitable Iſlands which were belonging to the King of Quiloa, which as I haue declared is a great Prince, and is Lord from the Cape De las correntes, almoſt vnto Momballa, which is twelue ſcore hundred leagues of Coaſt, in the which there doe enter the two Iſlands that I haue ſpoken of beſore, ouer and beſides Sofala, and other ſundry Townes vnto Monſambique, and from thence as many moze vnto Momballa, with an infinit number of Iſlandes, that doth yeeld him great rents. Notwithſtanding as touching his eſtate it is but ſmall, ſo that he is not able to make many men of warre: his abode is alwayes in Quiloa, in a certaine Iſlande, which is a hundred leagues beyonde Monſambique in the Coaſt of Aethiopia, neere to the firme lande, the which is verie fertill of Orchards, and Woodes, that beare ſundry ſorts of fruites, there are excellent good waters, and alſo they doe ripe great ſtoze of Miſo, and other ſeeds which they doe ſow, and there is bred vp in the ſame great ſtoze of ſmall Cattell. In thoſe Seas there is great plentie of Fiſh, and that verie good. So that what with the victuals that they haue in the lande,

The king  
of Quiloa  
a mightie  
Prince.

## of the Eaſt India.

and what there cometh from other places of the firme land, the Citie is plentifully prouided, which citie is compaſſed about with faire gardens on the one ſide, & with the ſea on the other, which cauſeth the ſame to ſhew very pleaſant, it ſtandeth in ix. degrees to the South, & is alſo great and full of people. Their houſes are made of lime & ſtone, in the which there are goodly chambers. Their king is a Moze, and ſo are the inhabitants, the naturall people of the Countrey are a kinde of blacke people, and thoſe that are ſtrangers are white, their common language is Algarauia. They doe apparell themſelues very richly, in eſpeciall the women, ſo that they carry alwayes vpon them great ſtoze of iewels of gold. They are great Merchants, ſo that their trade is of the gold that cometh from ſofala, and from this citie it is diſperſed to all the Countrey of Arabia Felix, & other places, and therefore there reſort thither many merchants from other places. Ther are alwayes in this port many ſhips which lyeth alwayes a ground when they haue no need of the. Theſe ſhips haue no nailes, but are ſowed together w<sup>th</sup> ropes made of Caira, & pitched ouer with wildincenſe, ſo that becauſe as in all y<sup>e</sup> countrey there is no other kind of pitch. The winter in this countrey doth begin in Aprill, & maketh an end in September. The Captaine Generall being come to the harbour of this Citie, and hauing obtained of the king a ſafe conduct that he might ſend him a meſſenger, did ſend vnto him Alonſo Hurtado, who went accompanied with ſeauen of the principals of their ſhips, and that they might ſhew themſelues in moze countenance & authoritie, they went in their beſt apparell. Being come beſore the king, he repreſented vnto him the meſſage which the Captaine Generall gaue him, which was to ſignifie vnto him y<sup>e</sup> he was come thither with y<sup>e</sup> king of Portingale his Maſters ſtate, to ſettle a trade in y<sup>e</sup> citie, & to the ſame end had brought with him great ſtoze of merchandiſe y<sup>e</sup> were conuenient to be ſpent in y<sup>e</sup> countrey, & therefore he was deſirous to talk with him therein, howbeit y<sup>e</sup> king his Maſter did countermand him y<sup>e</sup> in any wiſe he ſhould not leape a

The de-  
ſcriptio of  
the city of  
Quiloa.

Shippes  
without  
nailes.

land, but make the agreement a sea boord, sozasmuch as that is the auncient custome which the Captaines doe alwaies obserue in his countrie, because yf it so be ther shuld chance any misfortune to their general, which is their head, immediately are cast away the rest that are vnder his gouernment. So this the king made answer with a good countenance, yf he was also desirous to see the Captaine Generall, and to speak with him a sea boord, since there was no other remedie, Alonso Hurtado hauing receiued this answer, made yf Captaine Generall priuie therof, who yf next day after tarried for yf king in his boat, which was couered ouer & set out with flags. There did attend vpon him al the rest of yf Captaines in their boates, & at this present arriued there, Sancho de Toar with other two ships. The king thus being looked for, at the length he came in an Almadia, being well accompanied with sundrie Gentlemen in other boats, lykelike furnished, which also were set out with flags, and had in them those that sounded vpon trumpets & cornets, & Sagbuts, which made a wonderfull great noise. So the king being come where the Captaine Generall was tarried for him, all his ordinance went of in such sort & with such a force, that it made the sea to tremble, wherewith the king and all his traine, sozasmuch as they were not accustomed vnto the same, were greatly afeard. As soone as the ordinance went of, the king & the Captaine General met, & that with great pleasure. And after that the king of Portugales letter was read, which was for yf setting of a trade in his citie, he answered that he was contented therewith, & did agree that the next day he should send Alonso Hurtado a land, to tell him the sorts of the merchaundise that he had brought with him, & he wold giue him gold for yf same. Upon this agreement Alonso Hurtado was sent a land the next day following, howbeit he found the king far from yf whiche was agreed vpon with yf captain general yf day before, yelding therfore sundry excuses, why he could not accomplish his promise, in especial for yf he had no need of his merchaundise, & also for yf he beleued that yf Captaine generall came

The meeting of yf king & yf Captaine Generall.

A malicious & full More

whether to take his country from him. This sodeine chance was for this cause, sozasmuch as he was a More, and were christians, it grieved him to haue any conuersation or trade with vs. This being come to yf Captaine generalls knowledge, he did as yet tarrie thre or foure dayes, to see whether yf the king wold change any thing of his determination or not, howbeit he did nothing alter his mind, but rather had our men in iealousie, fearing least that he shuld be driuen to do yf by force, which he was loth to do, & therfore did fortifie himselfe with many men in a readinesse. As soone as the Captaine Generall heard of his dealing, he wold spend no more time there, but departed toward Milinde, keeping alwaies along the coast.

How the king of Milinde and the Captaine Generall met together, and how hee departed afterwards toward Calicut. Chap. 31.

**I**n the second day of August, he came to an ankor in the port of Mylinde, where hee found riding at an ankor thre ships of yf Mores yf which were of yf Merchants of the kingdome of Cambaya, but he wold not meddle with them, although they were laden w great riches, because of yf king of Milinde. Being come with al his fleet to an ankor, he saluted yf citie w all his ordinance. The king with this sent to visit him, sending also vnto him for a present, both sheep, ducks, & hens, wout all number, besides sundrie sorts of fruits. When yf Captaine general sent likewise to kisse his hands, by one of his fleet, & also to signifie vnto him, yf whether he was come by his Master yf king of Portugales commandement, to know whether he had any need of this fleet to do him seruice w all, & also to certifie him, yf he had to deliuer vnto him a rich present, with a letter, the which yf king his master had likewise sent vnto him, which he wold send whosoener he wold command yf same, with this message yf king shewed himself to be wel pleased, & commanded the messenger to remaine with him that night, with whom he talked and spent most part thereof in matters of Portugale.

And

The kings  
message  
to y<sup>e</sup> Cap-  
taine Ge-  
nerall.

And as soone as it was day the king sent by two principall  
Messengers word vnto the Captaine Generall, that he was ve-  
ry glad of his coming, and also to knowe whether he had  
made of anye thing in his countrie which he might com-  
maund as his owne, and make as much account thereof,  
while he was there, as if he were in Portingale, conside-  
ring the greate good will which hee doth owe vnto the king  
of Portingale, and that in all his affaires he shuld make as  
much reckoning as of his owne home. The Captaine Ge-  
nerall hauing well vnderstood the kings message, vpon the  
same determined to send him the kings letter, which hee  
had brought, and also the present, which was all the furni-  
ture of a Zennet horse, which was also both rich & gallant.  
And hauing taken his counsel vpon y<sup>e</sup> same, it was agreed  
vpon to send it, and that Aries Correa should haue the ca-  
riage thereof, so much as hee was the factor of the whole  
Flete, and also so that hee went so factor to the king  
of Calicut, and that he should goe accompanied with the  
principalls of the Flet, besides the trumpetors, that should  
goe alwaies sounding before him, which was so done. The  
king being informed of y<sup>e</sup> coming of Aries Correa, sent of  
the nobles of his Court to receiue him, which might the  
more easilys be done, so that the kings pallasie was hard  
by the water side, and going altogether, there were cer-  
taine women which by the kings commaundement were  
farring for their coming, with perfuming pans in their  
hands, out of the which there came so excellent a perfume,  
that it did replenish the whole earth therewith. And passing  
after this sorte by these women, hee came to the kings pal-  
laice, who was sitting in his chaire of estate, and accompa-  
nyed with many noble men & Gentlemen, who also receiued  
Aries Correa with great honour and pleasure, and also the  
present. Afterward he gaue him the letter which was writ-  
ten on both sides, on the one side was Portingale, the other  
in the Arabian tongue, which the king commaunded forth  
with to be read, which both he and all the nobilitie were  
very gladd to heare. And all they together with a loud  
voice

voice gaue God and Mahoma great thanks that they had  
permitted them to haue friendship w<sup>th</sup> so great a Prince as  
y<sup>e</sup> king of Portingale. And also being very wel pleased with  
the furniture of the Zennet, he requested Aries Correa to stay  
with him, whilest the Flete did there remaine, which with  
the Captaine Generalls license he did, & during the three  
daies that he was with him, almost he spent his time in no  
other thing, but to knowe the vse & custome of the king of  
Portingale, & of the order of his gouernment, & also parti-  
cularly as though y<sup>e</sup> he did remember no other matter all y<sup>e</sup>  
time, & being desirous to see y<sup>e</sup> Captain general, did procure  
with as much diligēce as he could to haue him a land, & to  
bring him to his pallasie, notwithstanding he made his ex-  
cuse, saing, y<sup>e</sup> the king his master had commanded him not  
to come a land in any port, with this answer y<sup>e</sup> king was  
driuen to encounter with him vpon the water, who would  
needs go as far as y<sup>e</sup> water side on horseback, with y<sup>e</sup> furni-  
ture of a Zennet y<sup>e</sup> the king of Portingale had sent him. And  
so y<sup>e</sup> in his countrie he had none y<sup>e</sup> could tel y<sup>e</sup> order therof,  
he requested one of our men to do so much. And when the  
king had all things in a redines, ther wer farring for him  
certain of y<sup>e</sup> principalls, at y<sup>e</sup> foot of a staire, & amongst them  
ther was brought a liue sheep, which whilest y<sup>e</sup> king was  
coming down, they did open as he was aloue, & after y<sup>e</sup> they  
had taken out his guts & bowels, they laid y<sup>e</sup> same vnder y<sup>e</sup>  
horse feet. The king being now on horsebacke he went also  
with his horse vpon y<sup>e</sup> sheepe, which is a kinde of ceremony  
y<sup>e</sup> the witches ther do vse. After y<sup>e</sup> he had thus troden vpon  
the sheepe, he went toward y<sup>e</sup> water side, with all his com-  
pany after him a foot, saing w<sup>th</sup> a lowd voice certain words  
of witchcraft. And after this sort he met with the Captaine  
Generall vpon y<sup>e</sup> water, where he deliuered him a Pilot  
to carrie him to Calicut. Where there were left with the  
king two of those banished men that they might enforme  
themselues of the countrie, as farre as in their strength,  
one of those was called afterwarde Machado, who after  
that hee had gotten the Arabian language, went by lande  
into

Paganini  
superstitious

unto the straights, and from thence unto the kingdome of Cambaya, from whence he did passe to Balagarte, and did there settle himselfe, with the Sabayo, that was Woꝛde of Goa, saing, that he was a Moꝛe, and foꝛ the same, he was taken in all that Countrie, this his trauell was very pꝛofitable to Alonso de Albuquerque, as you shall perceiue hēreafter.

How the Captaine Generall arriued at Calycut, and how the king sent to visit him a boord his ship, and also how afterward he came a land for to see him, and of his receiuing there. Cap. 22.



The king of Calycut messenger to the Captaine Generall.

The Captaine Generall being returned to his ships, departed toward Calycut, being the 7. day of August, & on the 20. he came to Anfadina, wher he staied certeine daies foꝛ the comming of the shippes of Meca, with intent to set vpon the if so be y they came thether. And whilest they were there, they did confesse themselves, and afterward did receiue the Sacrament, And they seeing that there came no ships, departed toward Calycut, and on the 13. of September he came to an ankoꝛ within a league of the same. And immediatly there came certeine Almadias toward our flecte, to sell victuals, & also there came certein Nayres of y most pꝛincipall belonging to y king of Calicut, with a certeine Guzarate merchant, by whom y king sent woꝛd vnto y Captaine General, y there could not haue happened a better thing vnto him then to vnderstand y he was come vnto his port, & that he could not do him no better pleasure the to command him, if ther were any thing in his citie y he had need of, & he would accomplish y same with great good wil: wher vnto y Captaine generall made answer with great thanks, & seeing w what good will y king sent to visit him, he brought himself to an ankoꝛ nere vnto y citie, alwaies shooting of his ordinance, with y which he did salute the, which was so great a wonder

der to the dwellers, that those that were Gentiles said, that against vs there were no resistance. The next daye following by the consent of the Captaines of the flecte, the Captaine Generall sent by one whose name was Gaspar, to demaund a safe conduct of the king foꝛ to send a messenger vnto him, sending also with the saide Gaspar those foure Malabars that Don Vasco de la gama had carried from Calicut. These went all apparellled in a gallant sort, after the Portingales order, whom all the citie came forth to see, who meruailed to beholde them to returne so well, which was the cause that they were so well pleased with our men, & that they were had in so great reputation. But foꝛsomuch as these were but fisher men the king would not see the, although he was glad to vnderstand after what sorte they returned, & commaunded y the saide Gaspar shuld be brought before him, whome he receiued very well. And after that he knew wherfoꝛ he came, answered him, that whosoener of our men would come a lande, might without any feare at all. This answer being come to y Captaine Generalls eares, he sent presently vnto the king Alonso Hurtado, to signifie vnto him y the saide flect belonged to the king of Portingale, of the which he went foꝛ Captaine Generall, and that his comming thether was foꝛ no other purpose but onely to settle w him a trade & friendship, foꝛ the which it was conuenient foꝛ him, to talke with him. Whobeit he sayde, the king his Father hadde commaunded him, that he shoulde not doe it, without he might foꝛ the assurance of his person, receiue some pledges to remaine in the shippes whilest he was a lande with the king, and that the one of those pleadges shoulde be the Catuall of Calicut, and Araxamenoca, the which is one of the principallest Nayres: And another there went with Alonso Hurtado, one that coulde speake the language, which shoulde declare vnto the king the effect of the message.

The king being hereof informed meruailed much to heare that the Captaine general did demand those pledges, which

The king of Calicut maketh excuses vnto him when he should deliuer pledges



which he did excuse to giue, forsomuch as they were sickly & olde, howbeit he said he would giue others that coulde better abide the brannelle of the sea. But afterwards he did insist very much, not to giue any pleadges at all, forsomuch as those that were *Moyses* were verie forrie to see our men in Calycut, and gaue the king counsell to sende none, for that in giuing of any he might wel iudge therein y<sup>e</sup> the Captaine Generall had but little confidence in him, and by this meanes he should remaine dishonoured. Yet for al this Alonso Hurtado did still insist in his demaunde. In this encountrie they spent thre daies. At the end the king hauing a desire to haue a trade settled with ours, for the benefit that might redound vnto him by the same, did consent to Alonso Hurtado his request, in giuing the pleadges that were demaunded, which being come to the Captaine Generalls knowledge, he began to make himselfe in a readinesse to goe and speake with the king, and to remaine a land thre or foure daies, apointing in his place Sancho de Toar, to whom he gaue commaundement that there shuld be made for those pleadges at their coming aboard good entertainment, and to looke well vnto them, and not to deliuer them to any that should come to demaunde them, although they came in his name.

On the xxviii. daye of December the Captaine Generall put himselfe in his best apparell, and carryed with him thirtie of the principall men of his flæte, which shoulde remaine with him a lande, with others that were the kings seruantes, which shoulde attende vpon him as vpon the kings own person. He commanded also to be carryed with him all the furniture for his Chamber and Kitchin, with his Cupboorde of Plate, in the which there were many rich pæces of siluer gilted.

Nowe being with all these thinges in a readynesse to depart, there came from the Citie sundry principall Nayres, which were commaunded by the king to attende vpon the Captaine Generall, accompanied with many men, besides others that came sounding vpon Trumpets,

pets, other vpon Sackbuts and other instrumentes. The Captaine generall being informed that the King was farrieng for him in a certaine Galerie, which onely for to receiue him in, he had commaunded to be made harde by the water side, toke his boate and went toward the shore, being accompanied with all the other boats of y<sup>e</sup> flæte, which went all in good order, and set out with manye flagges and trumpets, which being ioyned together as wel these as those that came from the Citie, made a wonderfull noyse. With this came those pledges aboard the Generalls ship, into the which they were loath to enter, vntill such time that y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall did disimbarke himselfe a lande, giuing thereby to vnderstand that they wer asfeard that they being once aboard, he would returne againe into the flæte, and so take them for captiues. They did stand so much vpon the same, that Aries Correa was faine to tell them, that without any suspicion they might enter into the shippe, forsomuch as the Captaine generall was not come thether for to deceiue the King, but onely for to get his good will, with this they were contented, to goe aboard, yet it was with some feare, that he would take them captiues. In the meane while that we were about this the Captaine generall landed, where there was farrieng for him sundry Caymales and Pymacalles, and other principall Nayres, being accompanied with many others. And befoze that the Captaine generall coulde set his fæte on the grounde, he was taken vp, and put in an Andor or chaire, in the which he was carried to the Scrame, accompanied with the multitude aboue saide. Being come to this place, he entered into a certaine house where the King was, whome he founde in this order. The house was hanged ouer with Carpets, or as they call them Alcatifas, at the ende whereof, there was a certaine place where the King was sitting, made much lyke vnto a lyttle Chappell, and ouer the Kings head did hang the cloth of State, of vnshorne Crimson veluet, and vnder him and about him, were twentie cushions of silke. The King himselfe was all naked, sauing that about his middle he had a cloth

Pledges  
are sent a-  
boorde,  
vvhich  
feare to be  
taken cap-  
tiue.

The king  
of Caly-  
cuts flæte  
& furni-  
ture.

made of Cotton, which was white as snowe, and wrought ouer with golde. On his head he had a night cap of cloath of golde, which was made of the fashion of an head peece or skull. On his eares he had hanging certaine Jewellies, of Diamonds, Saphyres and Pearles, of the which ther was two bigger then Walnuts. On his armes from the elbow to the hande he had sundrye Braceletes of Golde, in the which there were precious Stones, and that without number, and of a wonderfull valewe. Moreouer on his legs from the knees downward, and on the fingers of his handes, and the toes of his fete, and especially on his great toe, there was a ring, in the which there was a Rubie so great and fine, that it gaue such a light as was wonderfull: amongst al which stones, ther was a Diamond bigger then a great Beane. But all this was nothing in comparison of his girdell, which was made of Golde and Stone that the same was aboue all price, and out of it there came such a resplendour or brightnes, that it blinded mens eyes to looke vpon it.

There stode harde by him a Chaire of Estate of golde and siluer, wrought in the best manner, full of precious Stone, and of the selfe same sort was the Andor in the which he was brought from his Pallace, which also stode there. Also there were twentie Trumpets, whereof seauenteene were of siluer, and the other thre of golde, the mouthes whereof, were finely wrought and set with stone. Also ther was a Basen of golde in the which he did spit, and certaine perfuming pans of siluer, out of the which, ther came an excellent smell. And for estate sake ther wer lightned certain Lampes of Oyle, which were after the Moyses order, the which were also made of siluer. Sixe paces from the King, stode his two betheren, which were heires vnto the Kingdome after him, and some, what further off stode many Noble men, they all standing vpright vpon theyr fete.

Of

¶ Of the meeting of the Captaine generall, and the King of Calycut and how there was deliuered vnto him the Kings present which he brought, and afterward what hapned. Chap. 23.



The Captaine generall being entered into this place, and viewing the Kings estate, wold haue gone to kisse the Kings handes, as it is commonly vsed amongst vs: but for that he was enformed by those that stode by, that it was not the vse and custome amongst them, he did it not. Howbeit ther was a Chaire appointed him that was hard by the Princes seate, in y which the Captaine generall did sit, that from thence he might declare his minde to the King, which was the greatest honoz that he could giue him. Being set downe, he deliuered his letter of credite, which he brought from the King of Portingale, written in the Arabian tongue which being read by the King, y Captaine generall also told his message, the effect wherof was this, That y King of Portingale was desirous of his friendship, & to settle a Fadozie in Calycut, in the which there shoulde be sufficient of all kinde of Merchandize that shoulde be spent there, & in trucke of the same, or for ready mony, he requested that he wold let him haue sufficient lading of spices for those ships there. The King shewed himselfe to be content with this Embassage, & answered the Captaine generall that he wold yeld the King of Portingale out of his Citie, all that he shoulde haue neede of. While they two were in this talke, came thether the present which the Captaine generall had brought, in the which wer these pæces, a Basen of siluer and gilt wrought, a fountaine to the same, a Cuppe with his couer gilt, of the same worke, two Passes of siluer, foure Cushions, two of them of cloath of golde, and other two of Crimson Weluet vnshorne; a Cloath of Estate of Golde, being welked and garded with the selfe same Golde, and of Crimson

The Captaine generall deliuereth his letters of credite to the king of Calicut

The present which y generall brought with him

Crinson beluet a verve fine Carpet, two clothes of Arras, the which were very rich, the one with figures, and the other with greene woorkes. At this present, and of the Embassage which the Captaine generall had done vnto him, as it appeared, the King was very glad, and tolde the Captaine generall that he might goe to his lodging to rest himselfe, or els to his ships as he would himselfe, for that he thought necessary to send for his Pledges, which are Gentlemen and daintely brought vp, and could not alwaye with the Sea, to tarry there longer. And whilst they were ther, he was assured, that they would neither eate nor drinke for such was their custome. And if so be that the Captaine generall would goe to his ships, and come the next day againe, to make full agreement and consent about the order of the trade in Calicut, he would then send those Pledges againe. The Captaine generall hauing good confidence in those his wordes, went to his ships, leauing behinde him with his stiffe, Alonso Hurtado with other seauen. And being at the water side ready to departe, a seruant of one of those Pledges, went before aboard in a small Pinnace, and tolde them that the Captaine generall did retourne aboard, this messenger was sent by the commaundement of the Clarke and Controller of the Kings house, as who shoulde saye, to giue them counsaile to come their waye, which they did, as sone as they heard what the slaue had tolde them in their language, and with that they leapt into the Sea, thinking to take that Pinace in the which the slaue went. As sone as Arjes Correa saw this, he leapt into his owne boate, which was harde by the ships side with certaine of his Marriners and rowing with foote took two of the Pledges, and alle three or foure of those that were in the Pinace, the other fled and carried the Casuall with them, which was also one of the Pledges. This being concluded, the Captaine generall came aboard, who after that he had knowen what had passed, because that those Pledges the which he had in his custodie, should not retorne and milke their waye, he commaunded them to be put vnder the hatches of his ship, and after

afterward sent to complain to the King of that which they had done, laing all the fault vpon the Clarke Controller. Also he sent worde after what sort they remained in his ship, promising, that if so be, he would send him his stiffe, & such of his men as remained a land, he would immediately sende those Pledges which he had: and for that it was night, there was no more at that time done. The next daye following, the King came to the water side, accompanied w<sup>th</sup> xii. thousand men, and sent with the Captaine Generall stiffe and men, to the number of thirtie Almadias, for that they might retorne with those Pledges that did remaine aboard, howbeit for all that they were so many, yet there durst none of them come nere the ships, for the feare they stood in of our men, which remained in the flecte, least they would take them, and so they returned with the same againe to land. The Captaine Generall seeing the feare that they stood in of his flecte, sent the next daye in certaine of his owne boates those Pledges that he had in custodie, commaunding that they should goe and see them deliuered some what aloofe of from the fleet, that brought him his men and stiffe. And while they were deliuering the same, Araxamenoca which was the eldest of the Pledges, leaped into the water vpon a sodaine, with intent to runne away, but for all that he could not escape, for so much as our men caught handefast of him. The other that remained, whilst our men were thus busied fled lyke wise. The lyke did Alonso Hurtado practise with five of those that were with him. The Captaine generall meruailed to see how little honestie or truth they vled, did therefore commaund Araxamenoca to be well looked vnto. And being three dayes past, and yet the King not sending for him, he had pittie to see him that in so many dayes he had eaten nothing, and ther vpon he sent him to the King, also he sent sundry weapons which were taken of his mens, and requested him to send the other two of his men that were yet a land, which the King did sende, being moued therevnto, more for shame then otherwise, for that he had broken his word & promise. Now being three dayes

past, and there came no kinde of aune were vnto the Cap-  
taine generall, thereby he had sufficient tryall or vnderstan-  
ding how variable he was, and therefore he woulde carrie  
no longer for his aune were, but sent vnto him to knowe  
whether he wold make an end of the agreement y was be-  
gun betwene them, and for the conclusion of the same he  
woulde sende Aries Correa which came with him for fac-  
tor. Howbeit for the better assurance therof, he willed him  
to send him certaine pledges. This message was sent y he  
king by a certaine Gentleman called Francisco Correa,  
which did offer himself to carry the same, when all the rest of  
the flecte was asfear, least that the king woulde take him  
prisoner, or command him to be slaine. To this message y  
king made answere y he was well pleased to agree to haue  
the Trade settled, and that he shoulde sende vnto him Aries  
Correa about the same or whom els he should thinke good.  
But first of all he tolde him that he woulde sende two pre-  
sentes of one Gofarate, which is a great rich Merchaut,  
for pledges, which indeed was so done. After that those pled-  
ges were entred, immediately departed toward the land A-  
ries Correa, to whom the king commaunded to be giuen a  
faire house to lye and rest himselfe and to lay his Merchan-  
dize in, which he brought with him, which house belonged to  
Gofarate, who was Grandfather to those two pledges, that  
the king had sent. But he commanded that soasmuch as A-  
ries Correa, was yet not well knowne in the Countrey nor  
acquainted with their orders & prices how he might sel his  
Merchandize, nor yet what the buyer shuld giue, to instruct  
him therein. But he did not so, but rather cleane contrarie,  
soasmuch as he was a friend to y Mozes of Meca, which  
were great enemies vnto our men, not onely for that they  
were Christians, but for feare least that for our cause they  
shuld lose part of ther credit which they had in Calicut, by  
meanes wherof they toke their Merchandize for what price  
so euer they would themselves. And also for the feare they  
conceiued of them many times, the Gentiles durst not come  
out of their doores.

They

They knew also that hauing our Factory settled there,  
they shoulde be great losers, not onely in their Merchandize,  
which woulde be in valew lesse worth, as also in their spi-  
ces, Drugs & precious Stones, which woulde be more worth &  
better esteemed. And that was the cause that alwaies Aries  
Correa was overthwarted in all things y he went about to  
buy, with offering more then he did for the same, after y the  
price was by any of ours made, then euer they did before,  
so y by this meanes alwayes he was forced to pay the dea-  
rer for his drugs & spices. And if so be that at any time he  
woulde speake with y king, they did trauell all y they could,  
that some of them might be alwayes present to withstand &  
speake against him in all things. They did not this onely the-  
selves, but found meanes also by Samicide, which was Ad-  
mirall of the Sea of Calicut, & a naturall Moze, y he shoulde  
not consent y those y remained in y Factory to Aries Correa  
shuld go aboard y flecte, & moreover if any ship woulde pre-  
sume to come nere to y Moze, not to consent y it shuld returne,  
saing, y the king had giuen such commandment. The Cap-  
taine generall being aduertised of all this, & supposing the  
same to be of a suspicion of treason, commanded to wey and  
bring himselfe vnder saile to goe out of that harbour, and  
there to enter into counsell with his Captaines what were  
best for him to do, for that he was asfear lest whilst y he  
remained in that harbour he might be set vpon by y king of  
Calicuts flecte, & so be troubled. The king after y he knew  
what the Captaine generall had done, & that he minded to  
go his way, demaunded of Aries Correa the cause why he  
went out of his harbour, who answered him that he did not  
know certainly, wherfore without it were for the injuries  
which the Mozes had done vnto him, & so told him y whole  
order, for that he knew the same. The king vpon this wil-  
led him to send againe for the Captaine generall, who im-  
mediately after that he knew, what the king had said, retur-  
ned, & the king forthwith commanded that the Mozes shuld  
not from thenceforth vse anye such villany. He also toke a-  
waye the Gofarate from the companye of Aries Correa,

P. ii.

vnto

The pled-  
ges sent  
aboard.

The Cap-  
taine ge-  
nerall had  
good  
cause to  
feare and  
hate the  
Mozes

A free  
house for  
the facto-  
ry giue to  
the king  
of Portu-  
gale by  
uocde

unto whom he gaue charge to instruct him in the order of the Countrey, and did put in his place another which was a very honest man, and a friend of ours, (although he were a Moore) whose name was Cosebequin. This man was also in Calicut of good credite, and the head of all the Moores of the Countrey, that were naturally borne there, which were alwayes in controuersie with the Moores of the Cayro, and of the Straights of Mecca, of the which the Admirall was head. Also the King gaue commaundement, that to the end our Merchants which were in the Factorie might sell the better, and also buye theyr Spices at the better hande, and with quietnesse, they shoulde reuiewe theyr Factorie to a house of Cosebequin, the which stode harde by the water side. And of this house, a miste was giuen to the King of Portingale for euer by writing, the Copie whereof, forso much as the Captaine generall shoulde carry it with him, was inclosed in a Tablet of golde, to the which the King did set to his firme and seate, also the Kings pleasure was, that upon the top of the house there shoulde be set a flagge, with the royall armes of Portingale, that all men might knowe, that the same was his. Which after that the Captaine general had knowledge of, he sent unto the King great thanks for the same, and from that time forwarde they had indifferrent good sales by the helpe of Cosebequin, who did aide them therein. As soone as those of the Countrey had understanding, that our Factorie was by the King so fauoured, they likewise did the lyke. Afterward our men might goe wheresoener they would without any molestation, and as sure as they might in Lisbonne. So the friendship betwene them and our men, was afterward very good.

¶ How at the request of the King of Calicut, the Captaine Generall sent to take a shippe of the Moores, and also after what sort the same was taken, by the Captaine.



Willest this friendship continued betwene our men and the Citie, and they being in so great a friendship and concord one with another, on the next laterday following there did appeare to those of Calicut, a greateship of the Moores, which was far off, going from Coching toward Cambaya. And as soone as y same was discryed, the king sent worde to the Captaine Generall, requesting him that for his sake he would send to take the same ship, for ouer and besides that, there were in the same certeine Elephantes, yet was there one which exceeded them all, the which he woulde haue bought. And although he had offered for him more then he was worth, yet he would not sell him. Albeit the owner was a dweller in Coching, and therefore he most earnestly requested him to send to take the sayd shippe, forso much as it did so highlye touch his honour and credit: unto his request, the Captaine Generall made answer that he would doe it with a good will, although that he was informed that the sayd shippe was great, and that there were within it very many men, both Marriners and souldiers, and that the same could not bee taken without some losse of men, and therefore it was requisite that he consented that his men might kill those y were in the ship, whereunto the king agreed. This being concluded, the Captaine Generall commaunded that Pedro de Tayde with his Caruell, shoulde goe take the foresayd ship, and that there shoulde goe with him a young Gentleman called Edwarte Pacheco, which was thought to bee a valiant souldier, and with these there was a 60. men. The king also sent certeine Moores in the Caruell, that they also might view the order of their fighting. The Caruell being vnder saile gaue chace vnto the shippe till it was night, which being come, they lost sight of the same, and going a long the coast all the quarter of the Moone, they saue where he was riding at Anko, and then Edwarte Pacheco commaunded to beare with him, and found those Moores with

This ship  
for one in  
those  
coasts ve-  
ry well ap-  
pointed.

with their weapons in a readinesse to defend themselves withall, holobeyt as they were hoising by the Sayles, they easily iudged the same to be of 600. tun, and that with in it there were 300. fighting men, the most parte whereof were bolue men, Edwarto Pacheco woulde not laye the same a bozde, soz that he was commaunded to the contrarie, but to sinke him if it were possible. And hauing brought him vnder his eye, he commaunded to amaine. The Moors making as it were a mocke of the same, gaue a loud crye and plaide bypon their Instruments, and after this they shotte off certeine Ordnance which they had, and manye arrowes, making therewith a shew of readinesse that they were in. They were answered by our men with shot, of the which there chaunced a Pellette to strike harde vnder the bossome of the shippe betwene winde and water, where there was made a hole by the which there entered a great quantitie of water. After this they shotte againe, with the which there were manye of them slaine & hurt, & the other trembled with the feare they had of our Ordnance, with this they bare toward the baye of Cananor, the which was harde by, where there were riding at an Ankoz foure ships of the Moors, amongst them hee came to an Ankoz. Now being within the sayd Baye, arriued also with the Caruell Edwarto Pacheco, who commaunded his Ordnance to be shotte at them, and with the same had taken them all, if so be that there had not come certeine Paraos of the Moors to succour them, the which were in the porte, and as they were fighting the night came on, which was the cause that al those Paraos were not by him destroyed. In al these encounters there was no more then nine hurt of our men, which was done by their arrowes.

Night being come, Edwarto Pacheco brought himselfe forth of the Baye and came to Ankoz harde by an Ilande, soz that hee was there moze surer then in the Bay, whereas they might haue sette his shippe on fire. And although that it were contrarie to his commission, yet soz all that hee retourned in the morning, and ioyned himselfe with

with his enimyes, who as soone as it was daye, woulde haue ranne theyr waye, and as they begaune to make sayle, hee entered bypon them in the Baye, shooting of his Ordnance, with the which hee strake the saide Shippe, and by this meanes they yelod, with this those of Cananor that were standing at the water side, were verie soze agreued and woulde haue come to succour them, who after that Edwarto Pacheco begaune to dispend his Ordnance amongst them, ranne lykelike theyr wayes.

The  
Moores  
yeelded  
vnto our  
men.

This being done, hee went towarde Calycut, to the which harbour hee arriued the next daye, where the King came to the water side to see the shippe, soz that they toke the same for a miracle, and gaue our men great praises. The Captaine Generall commaunded the shippe to bee deliuered vnto the king with seauen Elephants that were within the same, which were worth in Calycut thirtie thousand crownes, ouer and besides this, there was found in it great store of merchaundise, besides those men whom hee toke captiues. Also hee sent the king word that hee needed not to meruaile that so small a Caruell as that was could take such a great shippe, soz that in matters of greater waight he woulde be at his commaundement, soz the which hee sent him great thanks, and praied him to sende vnto him those men that had done so notable an act, whom he did receiue very well, and with great honour, and gaue them great gifte, in especiall to Edwarto Pacheco. Some affirme that after that the king had seene this famous act that our men had done being so few, he had them from thence forth in some feare, & was desirous to see them dispatched out of his countrie, & therefore did consent vnto that treason, of the which I will speake of hereafter.

Of the Oration which the Moores made to the king, concerning the enterteining of our men, and what answere there was made, & also pollicie vsed against them. Chap. 25.

with





With the taking of this ship the Moors of Calicut were greatly afrighted in minde, and soze offended with y<sup>e</sup> king for that he made so great account of our men, which as they thought was done to reuenge their iniuries, and for the hatred or enuye they had conceiued against vs, though in daide the king made moze account of our men then he did of them. By this meanes as they thought, it was no other but to prouoke them to leaue his Countre, in especiall for as much as our men brought them such great stoze of Merchandise, and as much as they did, and brought as great stoze of spices as they did: Therefore they determined to make vnto the king an Oration concerning the same matter. And being ioyned together spake in the name of them all, one on this sort.

The  
Moors  
Oration  
against  
our men.

EMparather of all the Malabars, nothing lesse mightie then the mightiest king of the Indias, & most fearefull amongst those that are feared of all the Princes of the same. We cannot but mervaille much that thou hauing these two qualities, wouldest imbase thy selfe to receiue into thy Countre these y<sup>e</sup> are enimyes to thy law, & straungers to the customes of thy kingdome, & last of al, doe rather appeare to be rousers then merchants. If thou dost receiue them for want of such as shoulde bring vnto the Citie those kindes of merchaundise that they do bring, or else carrie away those kinde of Spices that they are desirous of, we would then allowe thereof. But there are too many that doth the same, and more that thou hast knowne of a long time, and by the long continuance of them art acquainted with their fidelitie, which haue encreased so much thy rents, that therof we are a good witnesse. But thou hauing forgotten all this, wouldest receiue those whom thou diddest not knowe, and dost fauour them so much, that amongst so many, and such a multitude of good subiectes as thou hast, wouldest make choice of them, that they shoulde reuenge thy iniuries, as though thine owne subiects were not sufficient men to doe the same. By which daide thou dost

dost abase thy power so much, that we for very shame, & for that we are bound of duetie to bring it into thy memorie. For if so be y<sup>e</sup> thou well consider what it is to make the reuengers of thy iniuries, & giue them in respect thereof so great honour, it is as it were to shewe them plainly a certeine kinde of weaknesse, which indeed is not in thy subiects, but rather dost bolden them to make small account of thee, & so afterward to do that which we doe well know they will do, which is to rob from all merchants that cometh towards thy ports, to destroy thy country, & at length to take the Citie, which is the end of their comming into these parts, & not to looke for spices, and this is most true, that from their countre vnto this is almost fve thousand leagues by sea, with returnes and stoymes that the same voyage hath, ouer and besides the great danger of the voyage, & the charges of the making of their great shippes, and furnishing the same with ordnance, besides the strengthing of their watchmen, much more all this being wel noted, it is plaine, that for all their greates gaines which they might haue by their spices in Portingale, their losses would be greater, in comming so far for them, which is a manifest proofe that they are rather pirats then merchants, which come into the country to rob and take the cite, as they will do, if so be they do place themselves once within the limits. And when they shal possesse the same house which thou diddest giue them for a factorie, they will make there a fort, from whence they will make thee wars, when thou shalt thinke least of it, which thing will come to passe, and now the rather, since that thou dost commaunde the same to be made by thy subiectes. But this as we saie we doe bring to thy memorie more for the good will which we doe owe to thee, then for any profit we doe loke for. And if it fortune that thou wilt not remember vs, there are other cities in Malabar where we maye make our habitation, whether for our sakes will be brought all stoze of spices.ouer and besides all this, the loyaltie which we doe owe vnto thee doth make vs to feare moze the losse of thy estate,

Proues  
that wee  
were rather  
pirats  
then merchants.

then to care for our owne profit.

As soone as the Moors had made an end of his Oration, the king did gratifie them all very much, and tolde them that he would haue a speciall care of all that which they had remembred him of, and how in the selfe same sort he supposed whatt indeed wold come to passe. The occasion that the king took to request the Generall to stay to take that ship, was to see the experience of their valiant minnes, & also why he did consent to y<sup>e</sup> lading of their ships, was to the end there might remaine in the countrie their monye which they brought to buye merchaundise withall, according as he did to such merchants as come into his port. And at the last he did promise that he woulde not forsake them for any straunger. Yet for all this, the Moors did not remaine fully satisfied, because the king did not command vs to depart out of the citie of Calycut, and not suffer our men to trade ther any longer, for that was the principallest thing that they did pretende. Howbeit they woulde not let but entremeele in all our matters, especiall in the buying of our Spices, which they did openly buye, and sent them secretly vnto other places. This was done with a determinatio, for y<sup>e</sup> they could not alway with our men, but wold resist them, our men being thus resisted might then haue occasion the better to defend themselves, & so by this meanes they woulde renenge their quarrels openly by fighting with our men. This they had great desire to do, thinking to destroy our men openly; for that they were manye more in number then ours were, they hoped that when this matter was once begun, that then the king wold take their parts. Also they wrought by all meanes possible to haue the common sorte of people on their side, inciting them against our men, with matters which they made them beloeue that our men had done against them.

How

How the Moores that dwelled in Calycut by meanes of the Factor & countenance they had at the kings hand, did set vpon the Factorie, where was slaine in defence there of the Factor with other of his company. Cap. 36.



By meanes of this subtil dealing of the Moors, there past thre moneths before the Factor could get any spices more then hee had, to lade two ships withall: which was a great grieefe to the Captaine Generall, forsomuch as thereby he perceiued berre well that the friendship of the king was not steadfast, but that he was a liar, and a man that vsed no truth at all. And if so be that he had not tarried there so long time as he did, fearing that in no other porte hee should finde sufficient lading for his shippes, he woulde haue fallen out with him, and so haue gone to some other place. But forasmuch as he hadde bene there at so greate charges, he dissimuled therewith onely to see whether with his good will he might lade there or no. The Captaine Generall seeing that all thinges were but delays, sent vnto the king, requesting him to remember those promises he hadde made vnto the Factor, that within twentye dayes he woulde deliuer sufficient lading for the whole flete, and that now there were thre moneths past, and yet there was no more laden then two shippes. The occasion whereof he did not knowe, and therefore he was the willinger to suffer the same, and that with great patience, hoping alwayes that he wold giue order for the lading of the rest of the flect. But now he sawe howe all thinges went, and knew that it was impossible to make an ende thereof.

For although he had promised that his flecte should be the first that should be laden before any other straugers,

Z.ii.

and

The king  
accused  
plainly of  
doubles.

and that he was enformed for most certeine, y the Mozes had bought for a lesse price great store of Spices, and sent the same to other places, whether they would, he therefore requested him yet to haue him in his remembrance, y know it was time for him to depart towards Portingale, desiring him to dispatch him as he hadde promised. The king as sone as he had heard what the messenger sayd, did thewe as in an outward appearance greatly meruailing that our ships remained yet vnladen, and answered that hee was very wyllyng thereto, and that he could not beleue that the Mozes contrarie to his commaundement had bought spices vnder a colour, and sent the same a boorde some other ship whether it pleased them, he hauing giuen commaundement to the contrarie, namely, that the Mozes should not buye any spices in hugget nungger. Affirming that if it bee so they had so deceined him, he would punish them therefore. Wherupon immediately he gaue commaundement to take those shippes that were laden with spices, with condition that they should pay for the same the price that the Mozes had bought at. The netwes was brought forthwith vnto the Mozes, and as there was nothing more acceptable vnto them, then to haue occasion to fall out with our men, sotherfore did one of the principall Mozes beginne to lade his shippe first, and that openely with all sortes of spices and Drugges. And for that cholar might the more increase in our men, to take those spices, hee found meanes that certeine Mozes which the Factor toke to be his very friends, and also certeine Gentiles, should make him beleue that if so be that hee did not send to take that ship, that was a lading, that then he could not haue lading sufficient for the flete.

The Factor gaue credit vnto this report, and thereupon sent worde to the Captaine Generall, what the Mozes and Gentiles had tolde him, and that he thought their saying to be true. And therefore since the king of Calicut had giuen him license to take all such spices as the Mozes had laden, hee might the better now take that Shippe.

Now

Howbeit the Captaine general was loath to deale therewith for all the kings license, for he knew him to be an inconstant man, and waying also the great credit, that the Mozes were in with him, he was afraid least that after they had taken the said shippe, the Mozes through the kings fauour would rise against them. And this was the aunswere that was sent to the Factor: yet for all that he did require him once more to take that ship, saierig, that if he did not, that then the king should be in hazarde to lose such Merchandize as he had there: neuerthelesse the Captaine general would not meddle therewith, and yelding for that his determination sufficient reason to the contrary. But the Factor on y other part ceased not to make vnto him sundry requests, and protestations, that he should paye all such losses and damages, as should hap vpon the king of Portingales Merchandize, by his defaults, for that he would not deale with the sayde ship. Thus since he saw there was no other remedie, he consented therevnto, although it were against his will: & therefore the xvi. day of December, the Captaine generall sent word to those that were aboard y ship, that was thus laden by the Mozes, by the order which was sent him from the king of Calicut, to commaund them to depart, and for as much as they made but little reckoning thereof he sent the next daye all his boates to bring him within the harbour. After that this report came to the owner of the ships knowledge, they made the Mozes priuie hereof, whereof they were very glad, for that by this meanes there was offered vnto them occasion to fall out with our men. Whereupon, they began in a furious outrage, running out of their dozes like madde men, complaining vpon vs and our people, by meanes whereof, they were tumultuously moued, and framed great outcries and larums, and alwayes against our men. And after that they had thus done, they ranne to the king, with whom went the owner of the ship, complaining also vpon our men for the detaining of his ship, saierig that our men had bought and laden much more spices & drings, then that the Merchandize came vnto which they hadde

Z. iij.

brought

Nothing more acceptable to the Mozes then to quarrell & fall out with our men,

The Mozes moued a tumult against our men.

The savage  
fierce-  
nes of the  
Moors a-  
gainst our  
men.

brought with them, howbeit their pride was such, that they were content with nothing; but as Thieves and Pirates would have all. At this instant came the Moors, which did before helpe him very much, declaring many things against our intent, how much the King was in fault, for suffering them within this Citie, requesting him most earnestly to grant them license to recover their losse, which they had received. The King as he was inconstant and without any fidelitie, did graunt them the same. As sone as the Moors had obtained their request, they came their waye from the King, and toke their weapons, and with a savage fiercenes, lyke wilde beasts, ranne into the Citie in flockes towarde the Factorie, which was compassed about like a Castle, with the wall of the height of a man on horsebacke, in the which were lxx. Portugales amongst whom was Fryer Henrick with his company of Friers. Ther wer amongst our men no more weapons then 8. Crossebowes, all y rest had nothing but swords & cokes, as sone as they knew of y enemies coming, they ran to the gates of the Factorie, & when y they saw they were so few, they iudged them to be some quarellers that came thether for the same purpose, & therefore were minded to defend their gates, with their cloakes & rapiers only: but afterward their power increased so much vpon our men, that by reason of their arrowes and speares, they could not endure ther any longer: then y Factor commanded their gates to be shut vp, supposing that from the wal they wold drive their enemies from thence, & at the very shutting vp of the gates, there were seven of the enemies slaine, y which gates could not be shut without great danger: alwayes fighting valiantly. In this conflict, ther dier of our men many hurt, & some slaine: howbeit as well those y wer hurt as those y wer in health, went vp vpon y wal of y Factorie, for to defend their enemies from thence with their crossebowes. Howbeit the multitude of them at that present was so great that they made shewe as if they had bene in number foure thousande. There came also to aide them sundrye Nayres, which all of them together, began to set vpon those that wer

in the Factorie, hoping thereby to enter. Aries Correa seeing y it was impossible for him to defend it any longer without some aide from the ships, and for to giue them to understand of their troubles, there was displaide a flagge in the top of the Factorie: and as sone as the same was discovered by the Captaine generall, he suspected it in himselfe to be that which indeede it was, for the which sodaine chance he was very sorrowfull, for that as then he was but newly let bloud, and sicke in his bed, and therefore he could not go himselfe to succour them: howbeit he sent sancho de Toar, to supply his roome, with all the flætes boats, which went with such men as they had, but to resist such a number as there was of their enemies, they were very few, which Sancho de Toar perceining, durst not disumbarke himselfe, neither yet come too neere the shore least that the enemies shuld come in their Almadias and Tonys, and so take them, also that they could not hurt them: they laye so farre off from the shore: but they from thence could discerne how valiantly our men did defende themselves and there entring, although the number of their enemies did alwayes increas, for so it was needful for y great slaughter, y our men made of the, from ouer y wall. Notwithstanding by meanes ther of their fury did so increas, y they caused to be brought certain engines to ouerthrow part of y wall wall, which were so great, that our men could not by any meanes defend the same, being so few and so many hurt, with the enemies arrowes and speares, which came from them as thicke, as though it had rained arrowes. But perceining once the enemye began to enter, they would not tarrie there any longer, but went forth of the Factorie, by a doore that opened toward the water side, where they made reckoning to saue themselves with their boats. But y enemies followed them alwaies so narrowly, hurting and killing them, that in this conflict Aries Correa was slaine, so that there were lacking fiftie of our men, betwene those that were dead and taken captiues, twentie onely escaped, which toke the water, but those were soze hurt, amongst whome was a Fryer called

Succour  
sent by y  
Generall  
Captaine  
to the  
Factorie.

Fryer Henricke, and a son of the said Aries Correa, which was but eleuen yeares of age, who is yet aliue and is called Antonio Correa, and since that time hath done in the Indias; and in other places notable acts of Armes, as in the fourth booke I shall declare. Those that did escape, wer taken into our boates, and carried to the flete.

¶ How the Captaine generall slewe the most parte of those Moores that were aboarde the ten great ships, and then commanded them to be set a fire, & also of the great destruction which he brought vpon the citie in reuenge of the death of those that were slaine therein. Cap. 37.



After that these newes were brought to the Captaine generall, he was not onely very sorrowfull for the death of those that were slaine, but also to see how little prouailed the present which he gaue vnto the King of Calicut, as also the taking of the ship, in the which was the Elephant, & now thre moneths were past that he had bene there, and yet had laden no more then two ships, nor yet could tell when to lade the rest, fearing also least in Coching he shoulde not be well accepted, for taking of the ship in the which was the Elephant. And further waying with himselfe, how little or none occasion at all there was giuen to vse such treason against our men, he did therefore determine to reuenge himselfe vpon y<sup>e</sup> King of Calicut, if so be that he did not vse some excuse for that which was past, wherevnto if he woulde willingly yelde, then would he be content, so that he might ther haue his lading. But the King of Calicut was farre off from the matter, for he was very glad of that which y<sup>e</sup> Moores had done, and commaunded all such Merchandize to be taken, as were within the ffactorie, the which wer well worth foure thou-

The king of Calicut was farre off from making amends,

thousand duckets, & also take all such of ours as wer found aliue for captiues, although they were hurt, of the which there were foure that died. After all this, the Captaine generall seeing that in all that daye the King of Calicut sent no messenger to excuse himselfe of the fact, he put the matter in question, whereas it was determined that he forthwith shuld reuenge those iniuries that were past, for feare least if he should delay so to doe, that then the King might haue time to arme his flete, which would not then be so easely done. This being determined, our men put themselves in a readinesse, to lay aboord y<sup>e</sup> great ships, which lay in y<sup>e</sup> harbor full of Moores: these at the first would haue defended themselves, yet for all y<sup>e</sup> our men did ioyne with them, & fought with them so valyantly, that they brake their order, killing many of them, and of those that remained some leaped into the water and were drowned, others hid themselves in their ships, and other were taken aliue, whom the Captaine generall commaunded to prison, that they might afterwarde serue for Mariners in the flet. The ships being thus come into our mens possession, they found within the same some Spices and other Merchandize which were hidden within them: also they found thre Elephants, which the Captaine generall commaunded to be killed and salted for their victuals, he commaunded also those Moores that were slaine to be told, and there was found of them 600. The ships being discharged of all that they had, they wer set a fire before all the Citie, in the sight of many that came to the water side to succor them, whom being Moores, as they were coming in their Almadias, our men encountered and fought with them, but they durst not goe forward for feare of the ordinance. This was a wonder to those of the Citie, to see ten ships burnt together. The King also was soze therefore for that he could not send to succour them. But if that which was done this day was a wonder to the enemies to behold, then y<sup>e</sup> next day was much more to be meruailed at, for the Captaine generall not being contented with the burning of these ships commaunded his ships in the night to be brought

Just reuenge wrought vpon the inurious Calicutis

¶

as



as nere the shoze as he could, the one somewhat separated from the other. They had alio their boats befoze them, that they might reach the most part of the Citie. As sone as the morning began to appeare, immediately all the great Ordnance went off amongst their houses, which after that the enimies had sene, and how nere our ships lay to the shoze, they began to shoote at the with smal peces which they had without hurting any of our men, howbeit of our ordinance, so that the enimies came running in flockes, there was no pece that mist, and by that meanes there were manye that fell, and the others that drel towards the Citie, where our ordinance also had made a great destruction, as well in the Temples of their Gods, as in their dwelling houses. The feare was so great amongst the Citizens, that the King of Calycut himselfe was driuen to leaue his Pallace, and to goe out of the Citie, for that our men went thether to lake him out with their pellets, so that hard at his heeles they killed a Naye, which was a noble man, and ouerthwe part of the Kings Pallace. This destruction dured no moze but this daye: and whilest it was a doing, there appeared two ships y<sup>e</sup> wer comming to the harbor, which as sone as they had discried vs, went their way, & therefore this fight ceased. The Captaine generall made after the m<sup>o</sup> al his fleet to Pandarane, which is a Port not far off, where there was other seven nere to the land ready to succour them, in which there came a multitude of Voyes to defend them, and for that our ships could not come nere vnto the shoze, they leste them. And the Captaine generall contenting himselfe with that which he had done in Calycut, for that it was verpe late to make his voyage toward Portingal, went toward Coching, & ther concluded a peace, to see whether he might lade ther, for y<sup>e</sup> he well knew it, that ther was moze Pepper then in Calicut.

¶ How the Captaine generall arriued at the harbour adioyning to the citie of Coching, & ther he concluded a peace betweene him & the King, & afterward began to lade his ships. Cap. 37.

Coing



¶ Ding vnder saile along by this citie, y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall toke two ships of y<sup>e</sup> Voyes, which after that they had discried our ships, bare as nere the shoze as they coude, for feare of our ships, but our men toke them and when they were discharged of certayne Rice which they carried, the Generali caused them to be set a fire, and so following his course he arriued at Coching the xx. of December, which standeth in the Prouince of Malabar, xix. leagues from that parte of Calycut, going into the South, and being in ix. degrees toward the North. The situation therof is along the riuer, in the which the Sea doth enter, by meanes whereof the Citie standeth as it were in an Ilande and that verpe strong, for that there is no comming to it, but by certaine wayes. It hath belonging vnto it, a goodly great and a sure Port, which lyeth befoze the mouth of this riuer. The land round about is watry and low, and made into Ilands: they haue smal stoze of victuals, but for all that those which they haue is verpe fresh. This Citie is buylded much after the manner of Calycut, and is inhabited by Gentiles and sundry Voyes Strangers, which are come thether from manye places, and are great Merchants, amongst whom there are two that haue fiftie shippes a pece.

In this Countrey is great stoze of Pepper, and the most parte that they haue in Calycut commeth from thence. But soasmuch as in Calycut there are moze stoze of Merchants which come from other places, therefore the same is richer then Coching. The King is a Gentile, and is of the behaviour and propertie of the King of Calycut: howbeit he is verpe poze, by reason his Countrey is but small, neither can he commaund any money to be coined in his Citie.

The Kings of Coching are in great subiection to the Kings of Calicut, soz as often as ther chanceth a new king to  
Aa.ij. luc.

The feare that the King of Calicut and the citizens were in.

Coching standeth in 9. degrees, and the situation therof.



succede in Calicut, he immediately goeth to Coching, and dispossesseth him that hath the same, of the whole kingdome and taketh possession himselfe therof, so that by this meanes it lyeth in his hands, whether he will restore that King to the crowne againe or not. Also the King of Coching is bound to aide and accompany the King of Calicut in battaile against any other King, also he is bounde to dye in the religion of the King of Calicut. The Captaine generall, being come to this harbour, did there let fall his Anko, for that he was asfearde to send Gaspar with a message to the King, least he would runne awaye, he choised rather to send one whose name was Michael Iogue, which although he were a Gentile & a straunger, yet he came vnto our Flate, with intent to turne Christian, saying that he would goe for Portingale: whereupon the Captaine generall tooke occasion to baptize him, and gaue him the name of Michael, & for his surname as he was called before. By this man he sent to the King of Coching his message, certifieng him of all that they had past in Calicut, & also that the Captaine generall had brought vnto him great store of Merchandize to giue in trucke for such commodities as there were in Coching, with the which if so be that the King wer not contented, that then he would buy the same for ready mony, wherof he had brought with him great store, and therefore his request was that in trucke of his merchandize, or for his ready money he would giue him lading for foure ships. The answer that the king made to this messenger, was, That he was very glad of his comming to this his Port, for that he was wel informed of his strength and valiantnesse, and therefore he esteemed them all the better, as hereafter he should well perceiue. And as for such spices as he had there, he would giue him the same in trucke of his Merchandize if he had brought with him from Portingale, or els for money as he should thinke best. And also that without any feare he might send a land whom he should thinke good to prouide the said lading, & for the assurance of such as shuld trauele about the same he sent him 2. of the principal Naires in pledge, by condition every day he shuld chaunge

A Moore  
baptised  
& called  
Michael,

chaunge them and take others, for that all such as did keepe a sea boorde, could not come anye more in the kings presence. The Captaine Generall was well contented therewith, who had the sending of those pledges so quietly a word, for a good beginning, and therefore he sent immediately for Factor of this lading Gonfallo Gilbarbosa, which was sent before with Aries Correa, and for his Scriuenor he sent Larenco Moreno, and for Interpreter one called Maderade Alculia. Also the Captaine Generall commaunded to be deliuered vnto them and to serue them in all kinde of affaires, foure banished men.

The king hauing notice of the comming of the Factor a land, sent to receiue him the Rogedor of the Citie, who went accompanied with many noble men of the Courte, who brought them before the king. This king even as his rents did farre differ in value from the king of Calicut, so he did also differ very much in his estate, not onely for the furniture of his person, but also of the place in the which he was in. For there appeared nothing else but the verie bare walls. The king himselfe was sitting within certeine grates, made much lyke a Theatre, with the which the whole house was compassed aboute, and there was attending vpon him verie few men. The Factor being come before the king, did present vnto him a present which the Captaine Generall sent him, which was a Basin of silver full of his hands in, full of Saffron, and a greate Cewer of silver full of rose water, besides certeine braunches of Corall, this present the king receiued very ioyfully, giuing vnto the Captaine Generall great thanks for the same, and after that he had talked a while with the factor, and with Larenco Moreno, he commaunded them to be lodged, and so there remained those three a land, besides the other foure banished men. But the Captaine Generall would not consent there should remaine a land anye more, for he iudged that the fewer ther remained a land, the fewer would be lost if so be that there should chaunce the lyke misfortune to that which did in Calicut. Howbeit that was

The king  
of Coch-  
ing much  
inferior in  
wealth &  
state to the  
king of  
Calicut.

farre unlike, for y the king of coching seemed to be a man inclined to vertue & all the loialtie in the world, which wel appeared in his sauour, & in the vsing of our men, & in the dispatch, he made for the lading of our ships with spices, & in the commanding of helpe to be giuen by those of y countrie, which they did so willingly and with so great a zeale, that the same seemed to be ordeined of God, that the trade might be brought from Calycut to Coching, & that his holy Catholike faith might increase in the Indias, as y same did, besides the estate of y king of Portingale, which might increase also in riches as the same hath done.

Howe the Captaine General being at Coching, ther came vnto him a Priest vvhich yvas an Indian and a christ ian, from the citie of Grangalor, to go vyith him to Portingale, and also yvhat els he tolde him of the christians of this citie. Chap. 39

**T**he Captaine Generall being in this citie & laden, there came vnto him two Indians which as they said were christians, & naturally bozne in y citie of Grangalor, which is hard by Coching, these were brothers, & were desirous to go to Portingale, & fro thence to Rome to see the Pope, & after ward to Ierusalem to visit y holy sepulchre. And being demanded by y Captaine general what city y Grangalor was, & whether the same was only inhabited by christians, & also whether they do esteeme y christia order of y Greks, or of y church of Rome: one of the made answer, y Grangalor was a gret city in y prouince of Malabar, stading vvin y coutry at y end of a riuer which copasseth y same, by some parts y inhabitants therof, saith he, are both Gentiles & christians, also ther dwel amongst the many Jewes which are smally esteemed of, ther are also many strangers amongst the, which are merchants of Suria, of Aegipt, of Persia, & Arabia, by reason of y great store of pepper which is there gathered, this citie hath a king amongst theselues, vnto who al such christians as dwel vvin this citie do pay certein tribute, & these dwel by theselues, where they haue their church made after our order, sauing they haue not in the any Images of saints, but only certein crosses: they do not vse bels, but when y priests would hane them

The description & state of Grangalor.

the come to diuine seruice, the they do obserue y order of y Greks. The christians haue their Popes which haue 12. cardinals, & two patriarks, & many Bishops & Archbishops, all which do reside in Armenia, for thether go y bishops of Grangalor to receiue their dignity, he himself had ben ther w. a bishop which y pope did consecrate, & he himself receiued at his hands, orders of priesthood, & euen so he is accustomed to do vnto al others y are christians in y Indias, & in Caitaio & also he is called catholike, & their Tonsura is made w. a crosse. Of those two patriarks which they haue, y one remaineth in y Indias, & y other in Caitaio, & as for y bishops they are reposed in cities, as is thought couenient. The cause why they haue a pope in those parts hath ben as is thought by the, for y in S. Peters time he being in Antioch, ther arose a great scisme of Simon Magus, which was y occasiō y he was called to Rome to ouerthrow y same, & to help y christians which wer in great trouble: and seeing y he must depart fro Antioch, & for y the church of y orient shuld not remaine wout a shepheard, he appointed a vicar to gouern, who, S. Peter being dead, shuld remaine for pope, & those y succeeded him shuld alwaies assist him in Armenia, but after y Popes entred into Suria & Asia, & for y Armenia remained alwaies in the christian faith: the Christians did therfore chuse to gouerne it by 12. cardinals. Marco Paulo doth also make mentiō of this catholike pope, wher he writteth of this Armenia, in which he declareth there are two orders of Christians: the one of those are Nestorians, the other Iacobites, their pope is also named Iacobite, & is he who they cal y catholike Ioseph. Moreover he told y Captaine general y in Grangalor are priests whose crowns are not shauen as ours are, but onely in y midst of their heads they leaue certein haire, al y rest is shauen, & also they haue deacons & subdeacons. They consecrate w. leuened bread & with wine made of raisons, for they haue no other in y coutry. Their childre are not baptised vntil xl. daies after their birth, without they be sickly. Those y are christians do cōfesse theselues as we do, they receiue y sacrament & bury y dead as we doe.

Why the christians of y Indias hath a Pope.

The manner of shauing their priests differing fro ours.

They

They doe not vse the holy Dyle, but in stead of the same they doe blesse them, & when that any die, they gather many of themselves together, and for the space of viii. daies, they doe eate abundantly, and afterward they celebrate the obsequies of the dead. They make their testament before they dy, & those y do not so, the next heire shal inherit their lands and goods, & if so be that the husband die first, the wife shal haue her dowrie, on condition that she shall not marrie in one whole yeare after, when that they enter in their churches, they take holy water. Their opinion is that there are foure Euangelists, whose writings they haue in great veneration. They fast the Lent and the Aduent with greatesolempnitie, and take regard not to breake the same, during this time they doe exercise themselves in prayer, & on Easter euen they neither doe eate nor drinke any thing till the next day. They doe vse to heare Sermons on holy Friday at night, they obserue the day of the resurrection with great solempnitie, with the two other daies following, and also the Sunday next following, for that Saint Thomas on that day did put his hands into Christs side, they do keepe it with great solempnitie, acknowledging thereby that the same was no fantasie, or dreame. Also they keepe holy with great deuotion the Ascention day & Trinitie Sunday, & the Assumption of our lady, hir birth, & Candlemas day, & Christmas day, & all the Apostles & Sundaies, as wel the Christians as y Gentiles. And they with great deuotion keepe y first day of July in the honour of S. Thomas, they could yelde no reason or cause why they doe obserue that daie. They haue fryers of Negroes which doe liue very chastly. Also there are Nunnes of the same order. Their Priests doe liue verie chastly, for if so be that they doe not so, they are deposed from celebrating. Where can be no separating of the man and woman, but well or ill they must liue together till death doe separate them. They receiue the Sacrament three times in the yeare, they haue amongst them greatescholars, and open scholes, in the which are read the Prophets: and also there were in times past olde auncient doctors

Negro  
friars pro-  
fessing  
chastitie.

doctors, which haue left the Scriptures of the olde & new Testament well expounded or interpreted. Their apparell is after the order of y Moors. They haue their day which they do call Intercalar, which is of 40. houres. They know how the day passeth away by the Sun, & the night by the stars, for they haue no clocks. The Captaine generall was very glad of the companye of this Ioseph & his brother to carry them to Portugale, for whom he commanded a good cabin should be giuen them in his ship.

Of the great Fleet of ships that was sent out of Calicut to fight with the Captaine Generall, and what was the cause that ours did not fight with them. And also of his departure from Coching toward Portugale, and how in his way he was driuen to Cananor.  
Chap. 40.



The Captaine Generall being in this harbour, ther came vnto him a messenger from the king of Cananor, & also from the king of Coulan (they both being great princes) in y kingdome of Malabar, requesting him to come to their ports or harbours, for y they would giue him sufficient lading for his ships, better cheape then in Coching, with verie many other offers of friendship. To whom he made answer by a messenger that he sent, yelding vnto them most hearty thanks, certifieng them y at this present he could not go to lade at their ports, for that he had begun to take in the same already at Coching, notwithstanding at his next retourne he wold do so, immediately after y he had laden his ships, there was scene a sea word a flecte of 25. great ships, besides other small vessels. And y king of Coching hauing notice therof, sent word forthwith to the Captaine Generall, y there was in that flect 15. thousand fighting men which came onely to none other purpose, but to seeke him out, and therefore if so be that

A greates  
Flecte of  
enimies.

that he should haue any need of men, to send him word, & he would provide him therof. The Captaine Generall answered, that as yet he had no such neede, for that with those few that hee had with him, he trusted in God, to giue them to vnderstand, what ill counsell they had taken, to come & sicke him out, for that hee had well experimented theyr strength. Truth it was the Generall belaued steadfastlye as hee hadde spoken, in respect of that which hee before had past in the harbour or porte of Calycut. First with ten great shippes which hee founde there, as also with certeine that were there a grounde. And although the enimyes were scouring vp and downe in the Sea, yet thereby it was apparaunt that they durst not come to the place where hee was, by a league, for all that they shewed themselves to be set in order to fight. The Captaine Generall perceiuing theyr intent, caused to wey Anko, and hauing his Sailes spread abroad, departed with all his flete towarde his enimyes, in the which there went those Pleadges Malabars, which the King of Coching hadde giuen vnto him. Whobeyt his determination was, to retourne againe to Coching, and so to deliuer them. And going after this sorte, there fell vpon them on a sodayne such a greate storme which came with a contrarye winde, that hee was faine to retourne and to come to an Anko againe, so that hee coulde not beare with his enimyes.

The next daye following which was the tenth daye of Januarie. 1501. the winde came about in such sorte and so large, that the one flete might laye the other abroad. The Captaine Generall being desirous thereof, founde vpon a sodaine mistaking one of his greate Shippes, in the which went Sancho de Tear, vnto whome it did well appeare, by reason it was night, that he had forgotten himselfe. And for because that next vnto this shippe, this was the principallest of all the flete, in the which were placed the chiefest men, it was not thought good to fight without him, the rather for that in the

the others he hadde but fewe men, and of them the most parte were sicke, and of the enimyes were so manye as the king of Coching had sent him worde.

And as the winde was prosperous to goe forward on his voyage towarde Portingale, and verie scant to retourne towarde Coching, hee departed, making his course into the Sea with his whole flete. After whome the whole flete of the enimyes followed, all that daye till it was night, and then they lost theyr companye, and so retourned. Thus going in his course, he beganne to comfort those Nayres which were deliuered vnto him for Pleadges, with manye pleasaunt tales, the which was the cause that they fell to theyr meate, being three dayes there, & had eaten nothing of five daies of theyr sailing, and vpon the xv. of Januarie, he came within sight of Cananor, which lyeth flat north from Coching, and is in the coast of Malabar, xxi. leagues from Coching.

Cananor is a greate citie, consisting of houses made of Earth, and couered ouer with broade stone or slate, there are in this Citie many Houses that are great merchants, which trade in all kinde of merchaundise. There is adtoyning vnto this Citie a goodly Bate, but there is in this Coast no great store of Pepper, no more then doth serue their owne turnes. Whobeyt they haue greate store of Ginger, Cardamom, Tamarindos, Mirabolanos, Canyfistola, and such lyke. There belong vnto this Citie certeine poles of water, wherein there do breed Lagartos, the which are lyke vnto the Crocodiles that are in the river of Nilo, which are so great that they doe eate men, if so be that they maye come by them. Their heads are great, and they haue two orders of teeth, their breath is as sweet as muske, and their bodies are couered ouer with shels. Also about this citie there are in bushes great adders, which are very full of poison, so that with their breath onely they do kill men: also there are Wats so great as kites, which in their heads doe seme much like vnto a ffore, hauing such manner of teeth also.

He maketh to-ward Portingale.

The description of the towne of Cananor.

Drugs for the Pothe caries.

Euery  
quintall  
is 100.  
vveight.

These the Gentiles doe seeke vpon, for that they are pleasant and sweete. They haue moreouer in this Citie plentie both of fish, flesh, & fruits, & as for rice y<sup>e</sup> commeth vnto the from other places. The king is a Gentile, and a Bramene, hee is counted to be one of the thre of the prouince of Malabar, but he is not so rich nor of so great a power as is the king of Calycut, nor yet as the king of Coulan. Vnto this harbour arriued the Captaine General, and came to an anchor, (not onely for that the king had requested him so to doe) but also for that he minded to take in there some Cinnamon, whereof hee had none yet a word, so that there hee tooke in 400. Quintalls, and might haue had much more, but he would not take it, wherefore it was thought that he wanted money: whereupon the king tooke occasion to send him word, that if so be the lacke of money were the cause that he tooke no more thereof, or any other spices, hee was then much to blame, for that hee would trust him with much more if neede so required, vntill hee returned backe againe, hee or any other. Hee was the willinger to send him this offer, for that he knewe the true dealing of the Portingales, and howe well they mainteined theyr promise: and for that hee did beare vs so greate good will, the Captaine Generall made him aunswere, giuing him greate good thanks for the lyberall offers hee hadde made him: promising that if hee liued, hee would enforce the king his maister of the greate good will that hee doth beare him. And once this, hee maye be assured to haue him alwayes for his friende. After this was deliuered vnto him an Embassadour, whome the king of Cananor sent to the king of Portingale to increase a further friendship betwene them.

What

What had chaunced to the Captaine generall vntill such time that hee arriued at Monsambique, and from thence to Lishborne, and how Sancho de Toar, did discouer the Ilande of Sofala, Chap. 41.



In the middes of that goulfe, and on the last day of January, he tooke a great ship, richly laden with Merchandise, and perceiuing that it belonged to the king of Cambaya, he would not meddle therewith, but rather sent him word that his comming to the Indias was not to make warres with any, but if so be that he minded so to doe, it shall be with the king of Calycut, for that he had broken the peace he had made with him: onely out of that ship he tooke a Pilot, for to safeconduct him, till he had past the gulfe. And he being in the same vnder saile, on a certaine night, which was the xii. of February, they lost the ship of Sancho de Toar, which in a storme, that rose sodainly vpon them, being hard by the shore side, violently they ranne vpon it, by meanes whereof, there was kindled in the same a great fire, so that nothing was saued, but onely the men. Following their course in this tempest, they past by Mylynde, onely for that they could not take harbor there, nor on any other land but only Monsambique, which he tooke in his waye, as well for the want they had of water, as also to new rig their ships, for y<sup>e</sup> they went all open.

A ship of  
the flecte  
cast away

In the meane while he sent Sancho de Toar, to discouer Sofala, and from thence to retourne towarde Portingale, with relation thereof. The shippes being all in a readinesse, they returned toward the Cape Buena esperansa, and ther by reason of another great storme, that ouer-tooke them, there was shot out of a ship a great peece of Ordnance, which ship was neuer scene after in all that voyage. After so many great and cruell stormes, and other great daungers, which are innumerable to write of, he past the foresaid Cape, the xxii. of May, which fell on Whitsundaye, Ib. iii, and

Diego Di  
as found  
at Capo  
Verde, &  
his voy-  
age.

The Iland  
of Sofala  
discou-  
red.

and so following their course, came to an Anchor at Cabo Verde, where he found Diego Dias (whose company he had lost before, when as he went toward the Indias) who was driven into the red Sea, where he did winter, and lost his boate, and where also dyed the most part of his men, and so that his Pilot durst not venture to carry them to the Indias; did return toward Portingale. And so after that he came out of the red Sea, what with hunger, thirst, and other diseases, all his men were consumed, saving seaven persons: wherein God of his great goodnesse shewed a miracle, for so much as in many dayes before, they were not able to gouerne their sailes, for that they were so feeble and weake. The Captaine generall seeing that ther came no more ships, departed toward Lisborne, whereunto he came the last daye of July in the yeare of our Lord 1501. And after that he was arrived, in came the ship, which shot off the pece of Ordinance in the storme, before that he doubled the Cape Buena esperansa, and after him came also Sancho de Toar, who went to discover Sofala, and made relation thereof to be a small Iland, standing hard to the firme lande; and that it was inhabited by blacke men, which are called Cafres, and that out of the firme lande there cometh much golde, where, as they say, there are mynes thereof. And so that cause there goe out of the Indias thether many Mozes, that receiue the same in frucke of Merchandize of small palew. Moreover he brought with him a Moze, which was giuen him in payne of one of his men, which he sent into y<sup>e</sup> firme lande, for to view the same. This Moze gaue large information thereof, as hereafter I shall declare. With this last ship there did returne vnto Portingale, of twelue that went for the Indias, onely five: the other five were lost.

¶ How Iohn de la Nueua went for Captaine general of the third Fleet that was sent to the Indias, & what hee did after his arriual there, & how from thence he returned toward Portingale.  
Chap. 42.

In



In this yeare of our Lord 1501. the King of Portingale supposing that all contention and strife in Calycut was finished, & that y<sup>e</sup> trade was settled as well there as in Quiloa and Sofala, and so that he had sent the selfe same yeare for that purpose one Pedro Aluares: therefore he thought best not to send any more then 3. ships & a Caruell, of y<sup>e</sup> which two caried Merchandize to Sofala, & the other two to Calycut. Of this Fleet he made Generall one called Iohn de la Nueua, born in Galyzia, & this charge was giuen him, for y<sup>e</sup> he was accopted to be a valyant Gentleman: moreover, Francisco de Nauoys, Diego, Barbofo, & Hernando de la pyna, were appointed for his captains. Ther went in this Fleet no more then lxxx. men. That which the king had giuen him in commandement to do, was this, that in his way he should touch at the Ilande of S. Blaze. And being come thether, if it should so chaunce, that he should finde missing any of his ships, that then he should there remaine ten dayes, and from thence he should depart toward Sofala, and being there, if so be that ther were settled a Factory, to discharge the Merchandize the which were appointed for that place. From the which he might haue recourse vnto the Indias. And if so be that he found not all thing so, that then he should trauell with all diligence, and as much as in him lay, to settle the same before he should goe from thence: which being finished, that then he should leaue for Factor of that place Aluoro de Braga, with all such Merchandize as was appointed, which went in the Caruell. From thence he should goe for Quiloa, & after y<sup>e</sup> he had bene ther, he should keepe his right course toward Calicut. And if so be that he should finde ther as yet Pedro Aluares, to know whether he stand in any need of him, & that he should obey him as his general, & wil him to settle a factory in Sofala, if it were not done already. This general being departed from Lisborne, he came safely to y<sup>e</sup> Iland of S. Blaze, where in a branch of a tree was found a shoe, & in y<sup>e</sup> same was a letter which made mention, y<sup>e</sup> Pedro de Tayde captain of y<sup>e</sup> fleet of Pedro Aluares

The third Fleet that went from Portingale to the Indias

The order that the king gaue him concerning this voyage.

res



res Cabral, which was bound to Portingale was past by, and so making further relation what had chanced unto him in Calycut, and of the good entertainment they had in Coching, where as then did remaine some of our men, and also how the King of Cananor shewed himselfe very courteous. This as it appeared, was written by Pedro de Tayde, to aduertise all such Captaines as should passe by to Calycut. The Captaine generall with the other Captaines perusing this letter, did then determine, y it was not requisit, to leaue the Caruell in Sofala, for that they had but few men, which was not above foure score. And with this they thought it conuenient to go to Quiloa, where they founde a banished man, whom Pedro Aluares had left there, who likewise informed the Generall, what Pedro Aluares had past in Calicut, the which he had learned of certaine Moors, and also of the ships that he had lost. From thence he went to Mylinde, where he talked with the King, which tolde him as much more as the banished man had done. And hauing the same for certayne, he went ouer to the Coast of the Indias, to the which he came in Nouember, and fell to an Anko in Anladina, where he thought conuenient to take in his water. And being there arrived, there came in vpon a sodaine, seauen great shippes of Cambaya, which were bounde into the Straights. The Moors wold haue fought with our flete, but our ordinaunce was the cause that they durst not laye vs aboard, and so they went their way. After this, the Captaine generall departed to Cananor: where he talked with the King, which certified him of that which had likewise past in Calycut with Pedro Aluares, and what he had done, and how he offered him lading for those ships which he had brought with him. Also he certified him, how desirous hee was to be at the King of Portingales commaundement: yet for all these faire words, the Captaine generall woulde not take in there any lading, untill such time he had ben at Coching with the Factor, toward which place he departed, and in his way he toke a ship which appertained vnto y Moors of Calycut, the which defended hir selfe very valyauntly; but

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Indias.

but afterward he commaunded to set the same a fire. And being arrived at Coching, the Factor with the rest of his company went to visite the Captaine generall aboard his ship, who told him that the King was greatly offended with Pedro Aluares, for y he went his way without speking with him, & for carrieng away his pledges: yet this notwithstanding, both he & the rest of his company wer alwayes courteously entertained. In y night they wer brought into his pallice, y there they might remaine: & if so be y in y day they wer any thing desirous to walk abroad, then they wer tended vpon by certain of his Nayres, which were commanded to attend vpon them, & keepe them company for feare of the Moors, for that they did not loue them, but rather were desirous to kill them, insomuch, that befoze they went to the Ballaice, they did one night set fire to the house, wherein they did lye: whereof the King hauing knowledge, from thence forth he had them to his Ballaice, and so commaunded from that time forthwarde the Nayres to take a care of them. Mozoouer, he was told what ill sales he shoulde finde there of such Merchandize as he had brought, for that the Moors had perswaded the Merchants of the Countrey to giue litle for the same: and also aduised those that sell the Pepper and other Spices, that they should not sell the same but for ready money, and not in trucke of Merchandize: & therefore they tolde him that if so be he had brought no money to buye their Spices withall, that then he should make no reckoning of the same. And therefore for that the Generall had brought none, he woulde farrie there no longer, but returned to Cananor, to take in there his lading, where the King was so great a friend to the King of Portingale, that when he vnderstood, that he had brought no money, he remained his suretie for a thousand Quintall of Pepper, & for fiftie of Ginger, & for foure hundred & fiftie Quintall of Cinamon: besides some linnen cloath, which is made of Alagadon, untill such time he had made sales of all such Merchandize as he had brought with him, which he had left in Cananor, in the hands of a Factor & two seruents, and so

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Moors.

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Et,

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The king  
of Calicut  
sent lxxx.  
Paraos to  
fight with  
the captain  
Generall

from thence he should returne with the first winde, & which as then did begin to blow, and therefore he would tarry no longer. To the intent therefore they should not depart without their lading, he shewed the Captaine generall this pleasure. The Captaine generall seeing this his courteous dealing, did commend vnto his custodie certaine of his men, the which he left with him, for that he had sent with Pedro Aluares Cabral Embassadors to Portingale. This lading being taken in, then on the xv. of December, they did appeare in the Sea lxxx. Paraos, which were past the Mount Dely. Whereof the King hauing knowledge, he sent word immediately to the Captaine generall, that those were the Fléete of Calicut, that came onely to set vpon him, and therefore it were good he should command his men to disembark themselves & their ordinaunce: vnto which the captain generall made answer, that he would not so doe. For if so be that the enimies came with that intent, he had a hope in God & he should be able to defend himselfe: and with that he put himselfe in a readinesse. The next day following, which was the xvi. day of December, before the dawning of the day, there was come into the Bay to the number of 100. ships and paraos, which were all full of Moyses, being sent of purpose, for that the King of Calicut was informed, that they were there taking in of their lading, so that he thought by that means that neither ship nor man should escape, and therefore they lay as they did about the Baye. As soon as the Captaine generall had viewed them, he removed from the place where he was at an Anko, and brought himselfe into the middes of the Baye, leauing order with his ships, that they should lay on load with their ordinaunce which they had, with the which he commaunded them forthwith to begin to shoot off: which was done in such sort, that they did neuer cease. And if so be that he had not done so, doubtlesse the enimies would haue laid their ships aboard, by reason there were so manye: So that it was impossible for him to escape, if God of his goodnesse had not fauoured him, and prouided by his mercie, that the enimies brought no Ordinaunce with them.

Where

Wherefore they were the bolder to dispend amongst them their shot, with the which there were many very sore hurt, ouer and besides great numbers that were slaine, and their ships and Paraos sunke, for they durst not venter to lay out ships aboard, nor yet had killed or hurt any of our men. The fight dured vntill such time it was Sunne set, then the enimies helde by a flagge. But, for that he feared they meant thereby some deceit, he did not leaue off shooting: for otherwise they might haue thought he had so done, for & he was wearied, or els for feare. But it was nothing so, for they did it for the desire they had of peace, in respect of the hurt and losse of their men, which they had receiued at our mens hands, whereby they were driuen to such necessitie, that if so be that the winde had serued, they had hoysed by their sayles and gone theyr way, and therefore they kept by their flagge. The Captaine generall perceiuing their meaning, (and for that the most part of his Ordinaunce was broken, with the continuall shooting thereof, did answer them with another flagge, which was done by the counsell and consent of the other Captaines: and immediatly vpon the same, they sent a Moze, which came in a small Boate vnto him, whose message was, to demand peace till the next day, which was by him graunted, with this condition, that they should carrie no longer in the Baye, but go into the open Sea, & so they did. The generall (although the wind was partly against him) made likewise his course into the Sea, although it were troublesome vnto him. The Mozes could not doe the lyke, for their shippes and Paraos can beare no sayle but with a forewinde. Yet for all the trouble that was past, the Generall came to an Anko hard by them, and for all that he vied in the night a great and vigilant watch, by the which they heard the enimies rowing in their boates towardes our Fléete, yet before that they were knowne, they were almost vpon him: their intent as it was presupposed, was to set our Fléete a fire. The Captaine Generall fearing this, commaunded to hyere more of the Cabells, that he might bee the farther off from them.

This flag  
was a sign  
& request  
of peace.

Ce. if.

And

they arriue  
safelye at  
Portingale

And perceiuing that the enimies did yet folloꝛwe them, he then commanded a pæce to be shot of at them, with þ̃ which they were afeard, & so went their way: & as þ̃ wind came of the shoꝛe somwhat faire, they hoysed bp their sailes, and folloꝛwed their course toward Calicut. The Captaine generall gaue God great thanks, þ̃ he had so deliuered him from his enimies, & so taking his leaue of the King of Cananor, departed toward Portingale, where he arriued in safetie with all his ships. After that he was departed, there came to Cananor one of his men, called Gonfallo pixoto, which was taken in Calicut foꝛ Captiue, whome the King sent with a messenger to the Captaine generall. The effect thereof was, excusing himselfe of all that was done vnto Pedro Aluares, and further also what hurt he had done vnto his Flæte in Cananor. Moreover, he offered him, if so be that he would come to Calicut, to giue him his full lading of Spices, and sufficient Pledges foꝛ the assurance of the same.

How Vasco de la Gama retourned foꝛ Captaine generall to the Indias with a Fleete of ships, and what hee did till he came to Quiloa. Chap. 43.

The iiii.  
voyage to  
the Indias  
1502.



The King of Portingale hauing great desire to reuenge, the iniuries & treason that the king of Calicut had done vnto his seruants, did therfoꝛe cause to be made in a readines a great Flæte of ships, with the which he did determine to make warres against him. And hauing giuen the charge thereof to Pedro Aluares Cabral, did vpon certaine iust considerations take the same from him againe, and in his stead appointed foꝛ Generall, Don Vasco de la Gama, who departed from Lisbonne, the third of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1502, and had the charge of thirtene great ships and two Caruells, of the which besides himselfe went foꝛ Captaines Pedro Alonso de Aguilar, Philippe de castro, Don Luys Cotinues, Francisco de Conya, Pedro de Tayde, Vasco currallo, Vincete Sodre, and

and Blas Sodre, cousin germanes to the Captaine general, Gil Hernand, cousin to Larenco de la Mina, Iuan Lopes Perestrelo, Rodrigo de Casteneda, Rodrigo de Abreo, and of the caruells, Pedro Raphael & Diego Peres. They car- ried also a Caruell vntowrought, which they shoulde make an ende of in Monsanbique, of the which there shoulde goe foꝛ Captaine one called Hernand Rodrignes Badar- fas: besides this xv. saile ther remained making in a redines other fine ships, of the which there should go foꝛ Captaine generall, one Steuen de la Gama, who departed the fift day of May, next after following. After that the Captaine ge- nerall had doubled the Cape of Buena Esperansa with his whole flæte, beeing at the furthest end of the currents, hee sent the same to Monsanbique, to remaine there whilest hee went to Sofala, accoꝛding as he was commaunded by the king. He carried in his companie foure of the smal- lest shippes of the whole flæte. His going thether was not onely to see the scituation of the same, and to see whe- ther there were any place conuenient there foꝛ to make a foꝛt, but also foꝛ to regrade their gold, and this was done in xv. dayes. The frindship betwene the king of Sofala and him, was agreed vpon, and that he might from thence foꝛth settle the fadoꝛie there. After that this was ended, there passed betwens thsm sundrie presents from the one to the other. And hauing concluded, the Captaine generall depar- ted from thence, and retourned to Monsanbique, and in going out of the riuier there was lost one of the ships, but the men were all saued. Being arriued at Monsanbique he immediatly renewed with the gouernour the olde friend- ship which in times past had bene betwene them, and by his condesent was left there a fadoꝛ, which was deliuered vnto him with other moze of our men, which remained in the fadoꝛie foꝛ no other purpose but to prouide alwaies victualls foꝛ such flætes as should touch there, either go- ing oꝛ comming from the Indias. This beeing finished, & hauing made an end of the Caruell with all his ordinance placed, he departed toward Quiloa, with intent to bring

He goeth  
first to So-  
fala to re-  
grade  
their  
golde.

A house  
apointed  
foꝛ the  
Factory.

Cc.iii.

him

him to be tributarie to the king of Portingale, the order whereof he carryed with him in his Register, which he meant to put in execution, by reason of the euill intertainment he gaue to Pedro de Aluares Cabrall. And being come to this harbour or port, the king went to visit him, a seaboard, which he did onely for the feare that he was in, for the iniurie which he had done to Pedro Aluares. After that he was come thither, there arriued also Steuen de la Gama, that came with other five ships, which he departed withall out of Portingale. Now when the Captaine Generall esteemed the king but for a liar, and had got him a seaboard, he would not trust him on his promise any further, but did immediatly threaten him, that if so be that he would not pay tribute to the king of Portingale, he would commaund him to prison, vnder the hatches of his shippe. With the feare hereof, he promised to giue him yearly two thousand Miticaes of gold, and for the assurance of the payment thereof, he gaue in pledge a principall Moze, whome they doe call Masainede Alcones, one whome he hated, for that he was a feard least he wold take the kingdome from him, for that he himselfe hadde usurped the same from the right king. After that he saue himselfe at libertie, and in the citie, he woulde not according to his promise send his tribute, but rather hoped that the Captaine Generall wold haue caused the pledge to be killed, by reason whereof he should be ridde of an enimie. But the Moze, seeing that the tribute came not, was faine to pay the same himselfe, and therebpon the Captaine Generall did deliuer him.

How the Captaine Generall did take a ship of the Moores of Meca, at the mount Dely, & what chaunced vnto him thereby. chap. 44.

**H**is being done, the Captaine Generall, went forward on his voyage, toward Mylynde, where he staide to take in his water, and to see the king, and from

from thence he kepte his course toward the Indias, and at the mount Dely, he met with a ship of the Moores of Meca, that was bound to Calycut, which was taken by our men, for that they did defende themselves verie stoutly.

A ship of  
5 Moores  
of Meca  
taken.

The shippe being rendered, the Captaine Generall went aboard the same, where he commaunded to come before him the owners thereof, and all the principallest Moores that were more there. He willed them also to bring with them all such kinde of merchaundise as they had, threatening them that if they did it not, he woulde cause them to be throwen into the sea. They answered him that they had nothing, for that all their goods were in Calycut. The Captaine Generall shewed himselfe to be offended with that answer, and did therefore commaunde one of them to be throwne into the sea, bound hand and foot. The others with the feare they had conceived to see this punishment, did deliuer all that they had, which was much, and that be- re good merchaundise, which was immediatly commaunded to be deliuered vnto Diego Hernando Correa, that went for Factor to Coching, and so he gaue order that the same should be carryed aboard another shippe.

All the children which were aboard the sayde shippe, were carryed aboard the Generall, for that he had made promise to make them all friers, and to place them in our Ladys Church of Belem, as afterwarde he did. The rest of the merchaundise which were of the meaner sorte, and of small value, he gaue the spoyle of them to his men. The shippe being vnladen of the goods, commaundement was giuen to Steuen de la Gama, to set the same a fire. This was done after that the Moores were driuen vnder the hatches, to reuenge the death of those that were slaine in Calycut.

This shippe being sette a fire, by the foresayde Steuen de la Gama, and other two, they leaped then into their Boates, leauing the shippe burning. The Moores that were within the same, after that they perceiued the

## The Conquest

Desperate  
minds in  
time of ex-  
tremitie,

the Shippe to burne, did breake open the hatches: by meanes whereof they were set at libertie: and with the water the ship had within it did quench the fire. The Captaine Generall seeing this, forthwith commaunded Steuen de la Gama to goe once more, and laye the same aboard, to the which he went with sundry of his men, with their weapons. Howbeit the Mozes did defende themselves as desperate men, not fearing death. Some there were of them that toke firebrands and threw the same into one of the ships, with determination to set the same a fire. Others y<sup>e</sup> threw the like at their heads. And for that the night drew on, they left them there, because the Captaine Generall was not of that minde, they should remaine there in the darke, for feare least the Mozes should kill some of our men. Howbeit he gaue commaundement, that the foresaid shippe shoulde be watched, that the Mozes shoulde not runne to lande, which was hard by. The Mozes all that night did nothing else but crie out to Mahoma to succour and deliver them from vs. The dawning of the day being come, the Captaine Generall commaunded once more that Steuen de la Gama with some of the Marriners of his shippe, should goe and lay the Mozes ship a board, and set the same a fire againe, which was so done. Now after that he hadde made the Mozes to flie and to ioyne themselves in the poepe of their ship, fighting alwaies with them, notwithstanding the which, certeine of his Marriners and Gunners would not leaue them untill such time the ship was halfe burnt. When the Mozes sawe the fire, some there were that leaped into the sea with hatchets in their hands, which they carried swimming, with determination to kill all those that did pursue them with boats, whom lyke wild men desperately bent they did set vpon. Yet for all that there were many that were hurt, for that they came nere to our boates side. Howbeit the most parte of them was slaine, and those that remained in the Shippe were drowned, within the same, for that the ship did sinke. There were of them in all thre hundred, whereof there was not one

## of the East India.

one that did escape: and of our men there were some that were hurt.

How the Captaine Generall made peace and friendship with the king of Cananor, and afterwarde departed toward Calycut. Chap. 45.



From hence went the Captaine Generall to Cananor, and being come thether to an anchor, he sent y<sup>e</sup> Embassador which he brought with him for the king, who told him that he was come, and that his desire was to speake with him. The king hereupon commaunded to be made a brydge of Timber, which entered into the water as farre as it was possible. The same was covered ouer with Carpets, and other rich clothes, and vpon it toward the lande side, was framed a house lykewise made of timber, covered ouer as the brydge afore sayd, which was made for the meeting of the king and the Captaine Generall. The king being the first that was come, came accompanied with ten thousand Nayres, and with many Trumpets, and other instrumentes, which went sounding and playeng before him. After that the king was entered into this house, there were placed the Nayres on the brydge, those that were appointed to receiue the Captaine Generall. Who standing there, anon came the Generall in his Boate accompanied with all the Boates of the flote, being richly covered ouer and set out with theyr flagges, besides that, they carryed certeine Ordinaunce in the poore of theyr Boates. Also there were many Drummes and Trumpets with them, and with shooting of the Ordinaunce the Captaine Generall disembarked himselfe, being accompanied with all his Captaines, and with sundry of his men, which went all armed.

An embas-  
sador set  
to y<sup>e</sup> king  
of Cana-  
nor.

The mee-  
ting of y<sup>e</sup>  
king and  
the Cap-  
taine Ge-  
nerall at  
Cananor  
1502.

Do.

The

fleet in his port or harbour, by which he feared to receive there were carried before him two great Basons of silver and gilt, which were to wash his hands in, covered over with fine pieces of Copall, and other fine things which they doe greatly esteeme in the Indias. The Nayres viewing the same, did meruaile to see the delicatnesse of our men.

The present which the king of Portingale sent the king of Cananor.

With this the king came as farre south to receive the captaine generall as the gate of his place, where he embraced him, and afterwarde they returned together to the place from whence the king came forth, where the Captaine generall had commaunded to be set a couple of chaires, upon the which, although it was not the kings custome to sit, yet he did at that time for the Captaine Generalls sake. At this present was concluded the friendship betwene the king of Portingale and him, so that immediately after that the factory was settled in Coching, minding to doe the lyke in Cananor, where as soone as the same was done, he wold lade certeine of his shippes, and after all this the Captaine Generall departed toward Calycut.

How the Captaine Generall came to the port of Calycut, and what hee did there. Chap. 46.



From hence the Captaine Generall being come to the harbour of Calycut, asore they were knowne, did take certaine Paraos in the which were to the number of fiftye Malabars, that could not escape. The Captaine Generall would not at the first comming doe the citie any hurt with his ordinaunce, untill such time he hadde seene whether the king woulde send him

him any messenger or not. And farring for the same, there came a boorde him, a boate with a flag in the same, in the which there was a frier of the order of Saint Frances, whome after that our men had sight of him, they iudged to be one of those that were in the company of Arries Correa, & remained captiue. This frier being entred into the ship, said Deo gracias, by the same he was knowne to be a Moore, howbeit to excuse himselfe he said that he came after that sort, that they might the rather consent unto his comming a boorde, being sent with a message from the king to the Captaine Generall, about the settling of a trade in Calicut. Unto this the Captaine generall made answer, commaunding him not to speake thereof, untill such time the king had satisfied him for all that he had taken in the factory, when he consented to the death of Arries Correa, and the others that were with him. In this matter they spent thre daies with messages to & fro, without any conclusion, for that the Moores did withstande the same.

The Captaine general perceiuing if all these delaies were but lies to spend the time, he sent him then word that hee minded not to tarrie for answer any longer then none, & the same to be with effect, and to complie with him, or else he wold make him most cruell warre, with fire & sword, and that forthwith he wold begin it upon such his subiects as he had taken prisoners. And because the king should not thinke them to be words onely, he commaunded to bring him a running glasse of an houre, and therebpon he tolde the Moore that went with the message, that of those Glassees there should runne so many, and as soone as they were ended, without any further delay he wold commaund all that to be done, which he had sent him word off: But all this could not moue the king to performe any thing that he had promised, he was so inconstant and giuen to change, with euery vaine saieing of the Moores: and the outward shew that hee made of peace, was but feigned, by reason of the feare hee had conceived in himselfe, to see so greates a

Do. ii.

that

The Moores make him keepe no promise with the Captaine Generall, nor feare his pover



## The Conquest

fleet in his port or harbour, by the which he feared to receive great losse, whereof the Moors did assure him the contrary, which was the occasion that he kepte no promise. Upon this the Captaine generall as soone as the time was come, commaunded to be shotte off a peece, which was the signe he gaue to the other Captaines, to commaund those Malabars to be hanged, which were departed amongst the flecte. After that they were executed, he commaunded their fetters and handes to be cutt off, which were throwne into a Parao and sent a shoare with two Boates well armed, and a Letter for the king of Calicut witten in the Arabian tongue, in y<sup>e</sup> which he signified vnto him y<sup>e</sup> in such manner, he would paye him for all his fained lyes which he had spoken vnto this present. And as for his kinges goods, which he did deteine in his hands, he would recover them a hundred folde. After all this, he gaue commandement, that in the night there shuld be brought three ships as nere to the shoare as they could, that the next day without ceasing there shoud be shot all the great Ordnance that they had at the Citie, with the which there was great hurt done, besides the kings house which was ouerthrowne therewith, and sundrie other houses of the principall inhabitants. This being done, he departed towarde Coching, leauing to keepe that Coast five shippes which were well appointed, of the which was named for Captaine Generall one called Vincente Sodre, to remaine with them in the Indias, that therewith he might goe and discover the straights of Meca, and the coast of Cambaia.

How the captaine Generall came to Coching, and what he did there; & also how the king of Calicut sent to traine him thither; for that there hee would traiterously haue taken him, and last of all he wrote a Letter to the king of Coching.

Chap. 47.

## of the East India.



He Captaine generall being come to the Port or Harbour of Coching, when y<sup>e</sup> king had notice thereof, he sent him before he came a land, certaine Pledges to remaine in the ship for his assurance. And afterward he came in person and met him. In this visitation the king did deliuer vnto him Steuen Gyl, with all the others that remained in his Countrey, and in recompence of that, the Captaine generall deliuered him a letter, which the king of Portingale had sent him, rendering vnto him most hartie thanks, for the good will he alwaies shewed to Pedro Aluares Cabral: and that he was well pleased and contented, to haue a Factory settled in Coching. Also there was deliuered vnto him a Present, which y<sup>e</sup> king his Master had sent him: which was a rich Crowne of gold, full of Jewells, a Cholar of golde all inameld, two fountaines of siluer wrought, two Arras clothes of Imagery worke, a costly Pavilion, a peece of crimson Satten, and another of Sendall, all which y<sup>e</sup> king did receiue with great pleasure. And for y<sup>e</sup> he understood not wherefore euery of these things serued, he requested to be informed of the same. And therefore the Captaine generall commaunded the Pavilion or Tent to be armed, in the which was concluded a further peace. Also he gaue him a house to settle therein the Factory. Moreover, the price was agreed vpon, how he would deliuer the Spices & Drugs that were gathered in his countrey: of all these things ther was a contract made & set down, which was confirmed by the king. And for a further assurance therof, the king of Coching, sent to the king of Portingale a Present, which was two Bracelets of golde, set with stones, a towell which the Moors doe vse of cloath of siluer, which was two yards & a halfe of length, two great peeces of linnen Cloth, which they doe call Bengala, made of Cotton wolle, which was excellent fine, a stone of the bignes of a walnut, which they doe take out of the head of a beaust: they call the same in the Indias, Bulgoldof, of the which

The king of Portingale presented to the king of Coching.

The king of Coching presented to the king of Portingale.

Do. liij.

there

This messenger was one of his chief chaplains.

there are but few found, and these are good against all poison. The house in the which they determined to settle their Factory being granted, possession thereof was immediately taken by Diego Hernandus, and other two which were Potaries: the one was called Lorenzo Moreno, & the other Aluoro was with others. Whiles the Captaine generall ship was taking in of his lading, there came a messenger from the King of Calycut unto him, saying: that if so be that he would retourne to Calycut, he would restore unto him all that had bene taken from him, and that he should settle a Trade there. The Captaine generall, after that he had considered upon the message, commaunded the messenger to prison, for this intent, to reuenge himselfe on him, if so be that the King did lye, since he had so oftentimes deceived him. And being now determined to goe towarde Calycut, which was more to see whether that he could recover the Merchandize that were taken, then for any hope he had of the Kings friendship, would for that cause go alone, leauing behinde him for his Lieutenant, Steuen de la Gama. The Captaines that remained were sore against his going alone, and especially after that sort, for feare of mischaunce: yet he would not be perswaded but to goe, saying that along that Coast there was Vincente Sodre with the other ships, that were appointed to remaine in the Indias: and if so be that he were driuen to any necessitie, he would ioyne with them. As soone as the King was informed that he was come to Calycut, he sent him immediatly word, that the next day he would comply with him for all such goods, as had bene taken from Pedro Aluarez, and afterwarde he would renew the Trade, and settle the Factory. But contrarie to these his wordes, as soone as he had knowledge that the Captaine generall was come alone, upon a sodayne he commaunded to be made in a readinesse xxxiii. Paraos, with intent to set upon him, & so to take him if it were possible. And indeed with such a sodaine came upon him, that to escape them, he was faine to cut one of his Cables, which he had out, and so made saile. And as the winde was of the

land, he went somewhat further off from those Paraos, yet for all that they did not giue him ouer, but alwaies followed him with such a vehemencie, that hadde it not bene for Vincente Sodre and the others which kept along y Coast, he had bene taken, but yet at length they were faine to run their way. Being thus escaped, he returned to Coching, & as soone as he came thither he commanded the messenger to be hanged, whom the King of Calycut had sent unto him: for the which deed he remained greatly affrighted, when the same came to his knowledge. But seeing now that by no means he could take him, he determined then to proue, whether he could perswade the King of Coching to giue him no lading, and also not to consent to any Factory for him in his Countrey.

How the Moores were the principall doers heerein, that moued the King to write concerning that matter by one of his Chaplaines to the King of Coching after this manner.



**I** Doe vnderstand that thou fauourest Chyistians, and that thou hast receiued them into thy Citie, & there dost giue them both lading & victuals. It is possible thou dost not foresee what danger may insue therof, & also how much thou dost displeasure me. I do request thee y thou remember what great friends we haue ben till this present, & now thou dost procure my displeasure, in especiall for so small a matter, as is y maintaining of those Chyistians, which are thæues, y accustome to rob in other mens Countries. From henceforth my request is, y thou do not receiue them, neither yet giue them spices: in the which thou shalt not onely shew me pleasure, but also binde me to requit thy good will in what thou shalt command. I wil not now further request y same, for I beleue thou wilt do it without further intretie, as I wold for thee in any matter of importance. This letter being perused by the king of Coching, who was honest & true in al his dealings, he was not moued there.

The king of Calycuts letter to y king of Coching

# The Conquest

therewith, but answered the King of Calycut, after this sort.

The answer of the king of Coching to the king of Calycut's letter

I Cannot well tell how it can be done, being a matter of so great a waight, as is to put out of my Citie these Christians, hauing receiued them vpon my word: and to do it so easily as thou doest write. I will neuer request thee of anye such matter, at the desire of the Moyses of Metca, neither yet vpon the instance of no other Merchantes, that are Traders to Calycut. In receiuing these Christians, and giuing them lading for their ships, I do beleue that neither to thee nor any other, I doe offence: since that it is a custome we haue amongst vs, to sell our Merchandize to those that will buy them, and to fauour those Merchants, which doe resort vnto our Countrey. These Christians came to seeke me out farre off, and for that cause I did receiue them, & promised to defend them. They are no theues as thou dost fearme them, for they bring great sums of money, in golde and siluer, and Merchandize, wherewith they do trade. Their friendship I doe and will obserue, doing therein but my dutie, and so oughtest thou to doe, and otherwise I will not take thee to be my friend: neither yet oughtest thou or any other be agrieved or offended withall, for that which I doe, is to enrich my Citie.

With this answer the King of Calycut was sore offended: whereby he tooke occasion to write this letter following.

The reply to the king of Cochings letter.

I grieueth me very much, the hatred or enuie thou hast conceived against me, for that thereby I do perceiue thou wilt leaue my friendship for those Christians sake, which I take for my great enemies, & ought to be the cause that thou shouldest accept them after the same sort. Once more therefore I doe returne to desire thee, that thou wilt neither receiue them, nor yet giue them their lading for their ships. For if so be thou wilt not be perswaded, to the contrary, but rather meanest to prosecute thine intent, then

# of the East India.

105

I take God to my Iudge, and from henceforth I doe protest, that I am not in fault of the damage that will growe vnto thee thereof.

The King of Coching hauing receiued this letter, laugh'd at it, saying to his Chaplaine that was the bringer thereof, that he would doe nothing for feare, but that which hee minded to doe should be vpon request, and so answered to this letter.

I Haue sene thy message, which soundeth as it were threatenings. God who alwaies resisteth pride, doth fauour him that hath Justice & equitie on his side. Since thou art my friend, do not request me to an abominable and vnlawfull request, as is to vse treason, especiall amongst Kings, and if there be any other thing that griueth thee, and is not hurtfull to mine honour, I will doe it, yea, although it were to my losse, which I doe not esteeme in comparison of mine honour. I doe trust that thou wilt take this answer in good part, and prevent the death of men, and the destruction of thy Countrey. But if so be notwithstanding, thou wilt maintaine thine opinion, God doth well knowe & perceiue that hereof I am in no fault.

The King of Calycut perceiuing that the King of Coching, did stand so much vpon his reputation, and wold not doe that which he had requested him, did then determine, (the Captain generall being once departing) to set vpon him by the waye, and utterly to destroy him, against whome he commaunded to be made in a readines, a Fleet of xxiij. great ships, that they might encounter with him vpon the Sea, at his departure toward Portingale, supposing, that forasmuch as they went laden, he should be the better able to do them the more harme.

Of the battaile that was fought betweene the Fleet of Calycut and the Capitaine generall, as hee was going toward Cananor: & how Vincente Sodre, Ec. Pedro

## The conquest

Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres tooke two of those ships, & how the Captaine generall departed toward Portingale. Chap. 49.



Great  
friendship  
and con-  
stancie in  
an heathen  
Prince.

If all these letters and messages, the King of Coching woulde neuer make the Captaine generall priuie, vntill such time that he was ready to depart, and then he tolde him, which befoze he was loth to doe. And soz that he should not conceiue and thinke him to be so vaine as to alter his minde to doe as the King of Calycut would haue him: he did therefore shewe him selfe to be so constant, and such a friend of the king of Portingales, that soz his sake he woulde aduenture to lose his Citie if it were neede. For this the Captaine generall gaue him great thankes, saieing, that the King his Master would neuer forget that good will: and in his name he promised to fauour and succour him in such sozt, that he shoulde not onely haue his kingdome in great assurance, but also that he would ayde him to conquere others. He willed him also not to feare those Letters that the King of Calicut hadde sent him, soz that they were nothing els but to put him in feare, and bying him to be a traitor as he was, being therefore so destroyed, and that from hencefozth there shoulde bee made such cruell wars against him, y he shuld haue inough to doe to defend himselfe, much lesse to make warres against others. All this he tolde him, soz the succour of those ships which should remaine in the Indias.

These wordes were spoken afoze many of his Nayres, of the which the King was verie gladd that they heard them. And soz that we had knowledge that in respect of the friendship that they had with the Mozes, they were verie soze that we had the Factory graunted in Coching. Therefore the Captaine Generall promised vnto the King that from Cananor he woulde sozthwith sende him thether a flete of ships, from whence he was minded to departe.

Now

## of the East India.

106

Now after that he had laden his ten shippes, and was a Sea bozde, thze leagues from Pandarane, he had knowledge of the nine and twentie great shippes of the Mozes, that went to seeke him out. And as soone as he had sight of them, he consulted with his Captaines to fight with them, vpon whom with the winde that did begin to blowe, they did beare.

This being agreed vpon, the Generall began to beare toward the Enimies. Vincente Sodre, Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres, soz that they ships were great saylers, went befoze them all, and these were the first that did giue the onset vpon two of the chiefeest ships. Vincente Sodre, fought with the one alone, and Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres with the other. Their meeting was with such a balpant minde, that out of both the Enimies shippes there leapt many into the Sea. The fight indured no longer, but vntill such time the Captaine generall with the other shippes were nere, who did alwayes shote off at them. In the meane while the rest of the Enimies did beare all that they could toward the shoare. The Captaine generall soz feare of the losse of some of his shippes, would not folloze, the rather soz that they were all laden: Notwith, our men leapt into they boates, and there fought with those that were swimming in the water, and slew them all: the which were nere to the number of thze hundred persons.

After this the Captaine Generall commaunded to discharge they shippes, which were taken, in the which was founde store of rich Merchandize: and amongst the same these peeces following: Sixe great Wynages of fine Earth, which they doe call Porcelanas, and the same is verie costlie, as by experience thereof we do see in Portingale: foure great Guyndes of siluer, with certayne perfuming Bannes of siluer: also they there founde, certayne Basons of siluer and gylt, in the which they doe vse to spit. But that which exceeded the rest, was an Idoll of Golde, which weighed thirtie pounce waight, with a

Co.ii.

mon

A battaile  
by sea be-  
tween our  
ships, and  
the kings  
of Calicut

A rich  
price take  
from the  
enemie.

monstrous face and for his eyes he had two verie fine Emerauldes : a Vestement of beaten golde, wrought and set with fine stone, the which vestement belonged vnto this Idol, with a Carbuncle or Rubie in his breast as bigge as a Crofado, which gaue as great a lyght as it had bene a fire. The ships being set a fire, the Captaine general departed toward Cananor, wher he was with the King, who gaue him a house for the Factorie, the possession whereof was taken by Gonfallo Gill Barbosa, who was appointed for Factor, and by Sebastian Aluares, and Diego Godino, Notaries, and by the Interpreter, called Edwarte Barbosa, and sundry others, in all to the number of twentie, of all whom the King took charge vpon him, with all that was in the Factorie : and bound himselfe to lade from thenceforth all the King of Portingales ships of Spices, that they should at any time haue need of, and this at a certaine price which was immediately named. The Captaine generall did enter into the like bonds in the name of the King of Portingale, to defend him from all those that shoulde make him warres for this cause. Also the King of Cananor did the lyke, and to remaine the King of Cochings friend, and not to helpe nor aide any that shoulde come against him, vpon paine that wee shoulde make him warres : and of all this, there were sufficient, great and lawfull writings made on all parts. After this, the Captaine generall sent Vincente Sodre to go along the Coast, and to keepe the same vntill Februarie. And if in the meane while there were any newes or knowledge of any likelihood of warres, betwene the King of Coching & the King of Calycut, that then he shoulde winter there in Coching : but if not, that then he shoulde go to the straights of the red Sea, to take such ships of Mecca, as doe passe to the Indias.

This being dispatched, and those three shippes laden with that they shoulde haue, they departed toward Portingale with thirtene shippes, the twentieth daye of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1503. and so arriued with all their ships at Monsanbique.

And

And for that the ship that Steuen de la Gama went in had a great leake, he commaunded the same to be vnladen and brought a ground, and after that she was newlye rigged, they departed. And within seauen dayes after, there fell a great leake in the ship the Lewis Cotine was in, & for that it was in such a place that they could not come by it, they were therefore driuen with all the flete to retourne to Monsanbique, to new rigge the same. Now the winde was scant, they were faine to remaine in a certaine creeke, vntill she was finished, and afterwarde they retourned to their voyage, and at the Cape of the Correntes they were so overtaken with stormes which came sodeinly, and with such a force vpon them, and that against them, that they were forced to stay there with all the flete. The ship that Steuen de la Gama went in did beare vpon onely with her fore saile, and his sprit Saile all to tozney, by reason wherof he lost the companie of the whole flete, and was no more seene. And within five dayes after that the Captaine Generall arriued at Lishborne, she came in also with her Mast broken. This storme being past from this Cape of the Currents, the Captaine Generall followed his course toward Lishborne, where he arriued the first day of September. All the noble men of the Court went as farre as Cascaes to receiue and accompanie him till he came to the King. He had going before him his Page, which carryed a Balon of silver, within the same was layde all the tribute which the king of Quiloa had paide. Being come where the king was, his grace honourably receiued him, according as he did deserue, who had done him so great seruice, as it was to discover the Indias, and to leaue settled Factoryes in Coching, and in Cananor, which things must needs redound vnto the king to most certaine gaine and profit, besides the great fame and honour which he got therby, in being the first king that had sent to discover the East partes, whereof he might make conquest, if so be that it pleased him. So in satisfaction the king made him Admerall of the Indias, and also gaue him the title of Lord of Vydegue -

They were dispersed by a tempest

The order that was given to Vincente Sodre, at the departure of the Captaine generall from Cananor.

ro, which was his olone.

Of the newes that were giuen out in Coching, how the king of Calycut put himfelfe in a readinesse for the warres, and how Vincente Sodre wold not succour him, but went to the cape of Quardafum. Chap. 50.



As soon as the king had knowledge that y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general was departed toward Portingale, he immediately determined to put his warres in execution, which he had signified to y<sup>e</sup> king of Coching before. And so he marched toward the village of Panane, where he beganne to ioyne his power, which was immediately

knowne vnto all those of Coching, for that it was not far of. Wherefore the dwellers there were wonderfully asfeard, saying, that they had cause so to be, for that the king of Coching did all things contrarie to iustice and equitie. And since he did the same vnto those that are of his sect, and all most naturally bozne with him, why should he not doe the like vnto the christians which are our enemies? And for that God doth well perceiue the iust quarrell the king of Calycut hath to make him warres, that he will therefore aide and succour him therein, vpon the charges of those that are innocents thereof. This they did not onely tell our men, but also in every place they railed at them, and endeauoured to procure as much hurt as they coulde against them.

Some of them also that were in credite with the king, and ought vs no great good will, did openlye saye, that if so be that the king of Calycut did come with a greater power then they hadde, they would immediatlye deli-

Both com-  
mons &  
noble me-  
repine a-  
gainst  
they  
king and  
our men.

uer our men vnto him, since the warres were begunne in respect of vs and for our sakes, they did put in hazarde the losse of their kingdome. The king meruailing much of the boldnesse of his subiects, answered them with louing wordes, saying that they had offended him verie soze with they<sup>r</sup> vaine speach, assuring them, that if so be that the king of Calycut woulde come and seeke him out, yet hee woulde notwithstanding defende himfelfe, onely for that hee well knoweth, that God will fauour him, for his iust dealing in defending those christians, as he had taken vpon him to doe. But for all this his subiects coulde not be well pacified, whereof some were desirous to set vpon our men, but yet they durst not, for that the king had allowed them a gard to attend vpon them, and also appointed a strong place for their lodging. Upon this, there came newes that Vincente Sodre was come to Coching, who had left greate hurt done along the coast of calicut, both by water and by land.

Of whose coming all our men were very glad, for that they were before in great daunger. But the factor perceiuing that they came not a land, sent the Captaine generall word by Laurencio Moreno, the certaintie they heard of the warres, which the king of Calycut was minded to make vpon the king of Coching, and where hee was at that present in a readinesse for the same. Requesting him on his behalfe, and requiring him in the name of the king of Portingale, that he woulde forthwith disimbarke himfelfe, for that with his being in Coching they were certain they should remaine conquerours, yelding sufficient reason for the same, & otherwise that they were in greate daunger. The Generall answered, that he was appointed for Captaine Generall of the Sea, and not of the lande, and did therefore remaine in the Indias, onely to keepe the seas.

Peuerthelesse if so be that the king of Calycut had prepared his warres against the king of Coching, by sea, he would haue defended him, but since it was by lande, he

The Cap-  
tain gene-  
rall excu-  
seth him-  
selfe for  
deling on  
the lande.



he had nothing to doe withall, but to suffer the king to defend himselfe, for that he would depart to discover the redde Sea. The Factor upon this determinate answer, did once more send unto him, requiring him on Gods behalfe, and the king of Portugales that he would not leave them, for that the king of Cochings power was but small to defend himselfe withall, in these warres against the king of Calicut, who had begun the same onely and for none other cause, but to destroy our Factorie. And therfore he as Captaine Generall of the king of Portugales, was bound for to defend him, and that this was the principall cause why he remained in the Indias. But for all this the General would not tarry, and so he departed with the rest of his Fleet toward the Cape de Guardafum, where he did well knowe that he shoulde take sundry rich prizes. This was that which he did better remember, then to stay and defend the king of Coching or the king of Portugales Factorie.

This general captaine had other matters of more profit in hand.

How the king of Calicut signified vnto his noble men, & all such as did assist him, the causes why he made this warre against the king of Coching. And how the Prince Nabadarni was hee, that onely spake against the same. chap. 50.



After that the king of Calicut was come to Panane, thither also came presently sundry noble men his subiects and others his friends whome he had sent for to aide and succour him in this enterprize. Others there were that came before they were sent for: For as soon they heard that the warres were begun, and that for our sakes that remained in Coching (of the which they were all glad) hoping thereby to hunt vs out of the Indias, & therfore they came with the better good wil to seeke the destruction of the king of Coching. There were also of his owne subiects that arose against him, and some of

of his nobilitie, as the Caimall of Chirapipill, and hee of Cambalane, and also he of the greates Island which is ouer against Coching, who carryed with them all the power that they were able to make. And being come into the presence of the king of Calicut, he spake unto them all.

If that good workes doe engender friendship, amongest men, then I, and you for my sake, and generally all the Malabars ought to beare the same greatly unto the Moors, for that it is well knowne, that it is five hundred yeare since they came into the Province of Malabar, and in all this time, yea, to this date, there was neuer any that ever receiued at theyr handes any hurt or losse. But hauing no sooner receiued strangers newly come into anye of our Countries, immediatly we receiue losse by them, wheresoeuer they doe beginne to settle theyr trade. But the Moors doe trade with the people with all friendship, and lone, as ought to doe one naturall neighbour with an other, by whose meanes the Countrey hath bene alwayes well prouided of much victuals and merchandise, which hath bene a cause to enrich our Colonies, and that our rents are greatly increased, in especiall within this our Citie. For whilest the Moors are here resident, they haue made the same the greatest mart Towne that is in all the Indias.

For this cause I am bounde in conscience, and haue greates reason to fauour them, and to mistlike of the Christians which to my greates hinderance, yea, and against my good will, settle in my lande, more for to take the same, and to destroye mee, then to bring mee anye profite or gaines as the Moors doe, hauing giuen of themselves greates shewes and signes thereof within these few daies, that they were here: as in taking of my Captaine General, and my Embassadour prisoners, in making of new lawes in my Citie, to lade their shippes first, and before the Moors shuld lade. And upon this they toke an occasion to stave a certeine Shippe of the Moors, which was the

The king of Calicut signifieth the cause why hee beginneth to make these warres against the king of Coching.

## The Conquest

„ cause, that the Mores did as you doe heare, and as I maye  
 „ iudge by the sequels thereof, was so ordeined of God for  
 „ theyr pride, of the which hee was in no fault. Yet this notwithstanding, they burnt ten of my shippes which lay with  
 „ in my harbour.

„ After all this, they with theyr Ordinance destroyed my  
 „ Citie, so that I was driuen to runne alwaye out of my pal-  
 „ laice. Not contented with this, they burnt me other two  
 „ shippes, which they woulde not haue done if so be that they  
 „ had come to settle a trade. But first of all since they found  
 „ themselves agreued, they shoulde haue come and made  
 „ theyr complaint to mee of the Mores, and tarried till I had  
 „ punished them, and not to doe as they haue done, by which  
 „ it was apparant, that they are theues and no Merchants,  
 „ as they name themselves to be, that vnder this coulour, they  
 „ might conquere the whole Countrie. Which things the  
 „ king of Coching would neuer vnderstand nor giue credit  
 „ vnto, although I sent him worde. And being as he is, my  
 „ subiect, & wel vnderstanding what they had done vnto mee,  
 „ yet he would not but receiue them, & giue them lading for  
 „ their ships, and now he hath giuen them a factorie, I sent  
 „ him word and praieng him many times that he wold  
 „ not consent therevnto. For this cause therfore I haue sent  
 „ for you, that you should ioine your selues. And also to re-  
 „ quest you to tell me your opinions, whether I haue reason  
 „ to reuenge my selfe or no?

Heere this  
 enterprise  
 was vrell  
 liked of  
 by his no-  
 ble men  
 & others

This determination to them all seemed verie good, and  
 they praised his purposed intent, but principally the Lord  
 of Repelyn, forsomuch as hee was a greates enimie to the  
 king of Coching, for that he had vsurped an Island of his  
 called Arraul: also of the selfe same opinion were other  
 principall Mores. But against this his pretended iourney  
 spake the kings brother called Nambadarin, which was  
 the onely heire to the kingdome after the death of his bro-  
 ther: who immediatly in the presence of them all  
 sayde,

The

## of the East India.

**I** C kindred that is betwene thee and mee, be-  
 side sundrie other things, may certifie thee that I  
 do desire more thine honour and profit, then anye  
 that be here present, and therefore my counsell  
 ought to be of a more efficacie then anye others. For as  
 they are not so greatly bound to giue thee the same as I  
 am, so as it appeareth they doe feede thy humour, and  
 counsell thee according to thy will, since thou art desirous  
 to accept it, and not according to good reason, which thou  
 hast to leaue it. But if so be that they without flatterye,  
 and thou without passion, wouldest iudge or weigh the  
 cause of these Christians, thou shouldest finde, that vnto  
 this present time they haue giuen thee no cause, but that  
 they should be well receiued into thy Countrie, and so into  
 all the Province of Malabar, and not to hunt them forth  
 lyke theues, which they cannot be called, although they  
 were present. And forasmuch as from all the places of  
 the worlde, men doe resorte hether, and assemble them-  
 selues to buye those Merchandise which they haue not in  
 theyr Countreys, and bring those hether which we haue  
 not here.

In the same sorte come these Christians, and as the cu-  
 stome is of Merchantes, they brought thee in their kings  
 behalfe, the richest present that thou diddest yet euer re-  
 ceiue. And besides theyr merchandise they brought much  
 Golde and siluer made in coine, which they doe not vse to  
 bring which come to make warres. And if so be they  
 hadde come in anye such sorte, they woulde not haue dis-  
 simuled the running awaye that the Pleadges offered  
 vnto them whome thou doest call Embassadors, that  
 were kepte in Prison, for that theyr Captaine was a  
 Lande.

But they reconciling themselves vnto thee, went and  
 toke the shippe at thy request in the which was the greates  
 Elephant, and after ward did present thee therewith, and with  
 all that the same ship carried: besides, those that are theues

ff. ii.

doe

The ann-  
 swere  
 vvhich  
 prince  
 made to  
 forefayde  
 Oration.

„ doe not vse so to doe, nor yet paye so well, nor vse so much  
 „ truth as they did, for all the time that they were in Caly-  
 „ cut, there was none that did complaine of them, but onely  
 „ the Mozes, which they did, for that they are their enemies,  
 „ and being moued with enuy to see them persakers of their  
 „ profite, did accuse them that they hadde taken greates store  
 „ of Pepper from the owners against theyr wills, they  
 „ themselves being those that vse the same, and for that the  
 „ Chyistians shoulde not benefite themselves by lading of  
 „ theyr ships. And forasmuch as this was so apparant, thou  
 „ gauest them license to take theyr freight, by the which li-  
 „ cense, the Captaine sent to the shippe of the Mozes, which  
 „ was laden, and they being in all the whole fault, did yet  
 „ notwithstanding rise against them. These men then haue  
 „ done as it is well knowne to the world, and yet for all this  
 „ as quiet men ought to doe, they tarryed all one daye to see  
 „ whether thou wouldest excuse thy selfe. But they seeing that  
 „ there came none from thee, they did then put in execution  
 „ the reuenge, not traiterously as the Mozes doe, which went  
 „ not to defend the ships, although now they speake with a  
 „ stout stomacke, and counsell thee to make these warres a-  
 „ gainst the king of Coching, for that he did receiue them in-  
 „ to his Citie, where no iust cause is at all. For his recei-  
 „ uing of them, it is not to be iudged that it is to hinder thee:  
 „ but he receiued them as he would anye other merchaunt  
 „ that would haue come to his harbour. After the selfe same  
 „ sort did the king of Cananor, and the king of Coulan deale  
 „ with them, who would not haue admytted them if they had  
 „ knowne them to be theues. If thou be minded to banish  
 „ them out of the Indias, and for this cause art determined to  
 „ make warre against the king of Coching: it is requisite  
 „ also thou make warre against the king of Cananor, for  
 „ from thence they may doe that which thou fearest they wil  
 „ from Coching. But I will not let to tell thee, that thou do-  
 „ est aduenture thy selfe against him. For that as thou thin-  
 „ kest he is of lesse power then the king of Cananor.

These

The exe-  
 cution of  
 þ pledges  
 defended  
 by the  
 kings bro-  
 ther

These words were spoken by Nambadarin, with such  
 a stomacke and so lyberally to the king, that they were by  
 him well taken: In one respect, for that he was a very va-  
 lyaunt Gentleman, and in another, for that he was with  
 him in great credit and authoritie. And for this cause they  
 hadde him in great reputation: Insomuch, that if the  
 Mozes and Caymayles had not shewed themselves verie  
 stout against him, the king woulde not haue gone forward  
 with his enterpryse to make wars against the king of Co-  
 ching. Howbeit, they stood vpon their reputation so much,  
 that they thought it would be a great imbasing to their cre-  
 dite, in especially hauing assembled so great a power as the  
 king had done, and not to goe forward, or at the least to do  
 some what afore they did retourne. By meanes whereof, it  
 was possible, that the king of Coching hearing of theyr  
 comming, would now doe that for feare, which hee would  
 not otherwise doe before, being prayed. After all this,  
 the king of Calycut would needes knowe of his Wittches,  
 what daye was good to march forward in with his Armie,  
 who appointed him a fortunat one, and promised him the  
 victorie against the king of Coching, and that as yet there  
 would come vnto him more men. With this certaintie,  
 which the Wittches had comforted the king withall, which  
 he much trusted vpon, he departed toward the Countrey of  
 Repelyn, which is seure leagues from Coching.

The  
 Mozes o-  
 uerthrow  
 the credit  
 of þ kings  
 brothers  
 Oration,

¶ Of the great feare that our men were in, least the  
 King of Coching would haue deliuered them to  
 the King of Calycut, cap. 52.



If all this, whatsoever hadde past, was the  
 king of Coching aduertised, by sundry es-  
 pyes which he had in the Campe of þ king  
 of Calycut: and therefore he stode some-  
 what in feare of him, for that he hadde not  
 sufficient men to defend himselfe, forasmuch  
 as all those that he hoped had fauoured him, were turned a-  
 gainst

If. iij.

The very  
sight of  
our men  
abhorred  
in Co-  
ching

gainst him: yea, even those that were his olone subiectes, whome if he hadde on his side, he had bene sure to haue giuen the king of Calycut the ouerthrow: Wherefore, for that he had but few men, he was greatly affraid thereof, and the rather, for that of those there, the most part serued him against their will, in especially they that were dwellers in Coching, which did abhorre & very sight of our men, where vpon they openly spake it, that it were good that the king of Coching should deliuer our men to the king of Calycut, or els that he put them out of Coching, and so he might acquite himselfe of these warres. Moreover, there were many of the inhabitants of Coching, that ranne their wayes, and left their houses, and all for feare of this warre. Our men also on the other parte were greatly ascarde to see this tumult, which gaue them occasion to waye the daunger that they wer in, for all that the king did warrant them. Wherefore the factor, fearing the successe thereof, procured licence of the king to goe to Cananor, hoping that there, they should be very quiet, vntill such time the flete should come from Portingale, thinking that the king by this meanes, should breake vp those warres, that were pretended against him, and also his Subiectes be the better contented therewith.

The au-  
svere  
vvhich the  
king of  
Coching  
made to  
the factor

But at those words the king seemed to be in heavines, & tolde the factor, that now it appeared very well, that he had but small confidence in him, that he would aske him licence to depart, and therfore he told him he would giue him none: but rather requested him earnestly not to haue any such mistrust, for he there gaue him his worde, and it shode him so much vpon his credite, in preserving them all alyue, that he would rather lose his kingdome and lyfe withall, then deliuer them to the king of Calycut, or to other that should doe them any harme. And if so be that his euill fortune were so great that he should lose Coching, yet there would not lacke a place of sufficient strength to sende them vnto, vntill the comming of the next flete from Portingale to the Indias.

And

And although sayd he, the king of Calycut shoulde come with a great power, yet for all that he is not assured of the victorie: for it is seene many times that few with valyant hearts, doe giue the ouerthrow vnto great numbers with out strength: much more hauing as I haue, Justice & equitie on my side. And therfore he willed them to be quyet, & to pray vnto their God to giue him & victorie. With these words, knowing well that the king did speake them with a louing minde, our men remained somewhat eased of the feare wherein they were, and would haue kissed his hands, but he would not suffer them so to doe, nor yet woulde agree that they should helpe him in his warres, which they did offer him to do, but aunswored them, that he would not place them in anye such daungerous place, for that it shode vpon his credite so much to keepe them alyue. And for that they should remaine as witnesses, how much he did trauell to saue their lyues, therfore from thenceforth he committed the keeping of them vnto certayne Nayres, such as he had a confidence in.

And that this mutenie might cease, and they from thence forth not haue anye occasion to murmure against our men, he commaunded to be called afoze him all his Noble men, such as were with him, and also certaine of the principall Nayres, which were the occasion of all this trouble, & spake vnto them after this manner.

I Cannot but be verie heauie, to see so lyttle truth re-  
I mayne in you: For I meruayle nothing at all at the  
rusticall sorte of men, whome oftentimes their povertie  
enforceth to vse all kinde of villanye. But of you, I doe  
greatlye meruayle that are Nayres, that haue bene alwaies  
true in your dealyngs, that you now would haue me brea-  
ke my worde and promise, that I haue alreadye giuen to the  
Captayne Generall, concerning these Christians, which  
was to keepe his men to the uttermost of my power, and  
to loke that no man shoulde doe them anye harme or  
vviolence, but alwayes for to haue as good a regarde  
vnto

Fewe ha-  
uing the  
right on  
their side,  
preuayle  
most  
times a-  
gainst nu-  
bers that  
come in  
an euill  
cause.

The king  
of Co-  
chings O-  
ration to  
his noble  
men.

„ vnto them as vnto mine owne naturall subiects. And there-  
 „ fore he left them in this my Citie, which was done also by  
 „ your consents. And since you doe perceiue, that the King of  
 „ Calycut hath a fewe more men then I, ye would perswade  
 „ me to doe contrary to my promise: so that if I were of so  
 „ ill a nature as you would haue me to be, then ought you of  
 „ all other to abhorre me, and crie out vpon me. Be ye heere-  
 „ in your owne Iudges, If you remained with anye other  
 „ King vpon his word, would you allow that as well done in  
 „ him, which you would haue me doe, by these Christians?  
 „ In especiall, counting him as we account of this man, for  
 „ our enemy, hauing none occasion so to be, as the King of Ca-  
 „ licut: and I your King, hauing no occasion to deliuer you,  
 „ as I haue none to deliuer these Christians? Which, since  
 „ it is so, what is the counsell that ye minde to giue me heere-  
 „ in, that may not be reprehended in another? If it be for that  
 „ you are afraid of the King of Calycut, then know this, that  
 „ it were better to dye an honourable death then to liue with  
 „ dishonour, then which there cannot happen greater to mee,  
 „ then to breake my word, nor yet more infamie vnto you,  
 „ then to be subiects to a rufficall and a false King, in especiall  
 „ against these Christians, who haue brought me so great pro-  
 „ fite as they haue done. And as for the King of Calycut, hee  
 „ well knoweth that if he wold haue consented that the Fac-  
 „ torie might haue bene setteled in his Citie, he might haue  
 „ kept them in his Countrey. But now because they are  
 „ gone he moueth these warres, the rather, for that hee well  
 „ knoweth my power is but small, and therfore mindeth to  
 „ reuenge on me the losse he hath receined: If his meaning be  
 „ none other, then to hunt these Christians out of the Indias,  
 „ and to fight with him, whoeuer receiueth them into his  
 „ Countrey, why then doth he not beginne his warres first  
 „ with the King of Cananor? But that is not the occasion  
 „ onely, but the enmie which he hath to see me benefited, and  
 „ for that with his pride he suppoeth, that I am not able to  
 „ resist him. All this doe I very well vnderstand, and moreo-  
 „ uer I doe receiue comfort in preserving of these Christians,  
 „ hoping

It is bet-  
 ter to dye  
 vwith ho-  
 nor, then  
 to lyue  
 vwith the  
 infamous  
 name of  
 a rude  
 and lieng  
 Prince.

hoping in God, that he therfore will giue me the victorie a-  
 gainst him. And as touching you that are my friends, I  
 pray you therfore to stand to me.

Now all that were present heereby, seeing this his deter-  
 mination, meruailed greatly at his constancie, and craued  
 pardon at his hands for the feare they found themselves to  
 be in before, promising all of them to lyue and dye in his  
 seruice: for the which he gaue them heartie thanks. Im-  
 mediately after this, he commaunded the Factor to be cal-  
 led with the rest of our men, vnto whom he tolde all what  
 he had done, and in their presence named for Captaine gene-  
 rall, the Prince Naramuhin his brother, and next inheritor  
 to the Crowne, & commaunded euery man to obey him, in  
 as ample manner, as his owne person. His charge was set  
 downe, that he should march forward with five thousande  
 five hundred Nayres, & entrench himselfe hard by the Ford,  
 by which waye he knew for most certaine, that the King of  
 Calycut was determined to enter into y<sup>e</sup> Island of Coching:  
 whereas at an Ebbe, the water cometh by but to the  
 knees.

The  
 kings bro-  
 ther made  
 general of  
 the field,  
 and armie

How the Prince of Calycut made offer sundrye  
 times to enter into the Island of Coching, by this  
 Foord, and how he was resisted by the Prince of  
 Coching. Chap. 53.



Now the King of Calycut hauing notice,  
 that Naramuhin had pitched his royall Ar-  
 mie hard by this Ford, to resist thereby his  
 entraunce into Coching, he was somewhat  
 feared therewith: in especiall for that hee  
 knew the foresaid Prince, to be one of the  
 valiantest Gentlemen, that was accompted off in all that  
 Province of Malabar, & the most fortunate in wars. Some-  
 what therfore for this feare, more then for anye good will  
 that he ought to the King of Coching, to vse any kinde of  
 courtesie towards him, he sent him this letter.

Gg.

I

The king  
of Caly-  
cut's letter  
to the king  
of Co-  
ching

I haue traualled as much as I could to excuse this war  
with thee, if so be that thou woldest temper thy pride, &  
doe y<sup>e</sup> which I haue requested thee, being as it is, so iust, ne-  
cessary and profitable vnto vs all. And for that this our sal-  
ling out might goe no further, I giue thee to vnderstande,  
that I am come to Repelyn with a great power for to en-  
ter thy Country, & there to take those Christians which are  
with thee, withall their Merchandize: yet notwithstanding,  
I will first aduertise thee, that my desire is, that thou doe  
sende them vnto me, which if thou wilt doe, then will I for-  
get the enuie and hatred I haue conceined against thee for  
that which is past, whereas otherwise, I haue promised to  
take thy Countrey from thee, & put all those that are diuel-  
lers there, to the sword.

Although now the King of Coching had very great lack  
of men, and did well perceiue that it might come so to passe,  
as the King of Calycut had written vnto him. Neuerthe-  
lesse, he neuer meant to moue his determination, but did  
aunt were after this manner.

The an-  
swere  
which the  
king of  
Coching  
made to  
the fore-  
said letter

If thou hadst demaunded of me after a ciuill order, & with  
louing wordes, that which thou doest commaund with so  
great a pride, I would not haue indged thee of lesse valour,  
then that thou thinkest I might take thee to be off: For  
where there is wisdom or strength, there is no discurtisie  
imposed by meanes of all bringing vp. These be things that  
God is not pleased withall: neither yet haue I so offended  
thee, that I should consent so much to my losse, or think that  
the victorie should not be mine and these valiant mens that  
are with me. Thou shalt be welcome with all thy pride,  
and I verely beleue, that with these few which I haue, ouer  
and beside my iust quarrell, shall suffice to defend me from  
thee, and other mine enemies. Thou shalt neuer finde mee  
so weakie, that I will doe anye thing with such shame as  
thou demaundest. And if so be, that thou hast vsed to ac-  
custome thy selfe to such deceiptes, so it is: I did neuer vse  
the

the same, neither yet will I accustome my selfe so to doe. ,,  
Touching the Christians, or any part of their goods, make ,,  
thou no reckoning, for that I doe minde to defende the ,,  
same. Therefore to bee short, sende me no more messen- ,,  
gers.

With this aunswere was the King of Calycut so of-  
fended, that he sware he would destroye all, and reuenge  
himselfe vpon the King of Coching. And therefore shortly  
with he departed from Repelyn the last daye of March,  
and entered into the Lande of the King of Coching, in the  
which he did no hurt, for that the Lordes of that people were  
all in his fauour. And on the seconde daye of Aprill, be-  
ing come nere vnto this Forde where Naramuhin was  
intrenched, some of the King of Calycuts Captaynes had  
great hope through the multitude of thes men which they  
had with them, to giue the onset; with determination to  
passe the Forde: but it was so manfully defended, that  
they retired with the losse of many.

The Cali-  
cutians re-  
pulsed fro  
passing  
ouer the  
Forde.

Whereupon the King of Calycut took this for an ill be-  
ginning: but for all that, after that hee had pitched his  
Campe, he sent the next daye the Lord of Repelyn with  
as many more men as there was the daye before, and sun-  
drie Paraos by water, supposing that then he would passe  
ouer this Forde. But it chaunced farre otherwise, and  
they mist at that time of thes purpose; for that Naramu-  
hin as yet did valyauntly defende the same with a stout  
courage.

At this present, were with him Laurensio Moreno,  
with other more of our men, which shewed themselves  
lyke valyaunt Gentlemen, as before time they hadde done  
in diuers other Battayles, which the aforesayde Prince  
Naramuhin hadde with his Enemies, in the which hee had  
alwayes the victorie, with the losse of many of their men.  
When the King of Calycut perceiued his losse, and be-  
ing now, as hee euer was, inconstant and fearefull, hee  
euen repented himselfe, that euer hee did beginne thes  
warres.

Inconstan-  
cie in the  
king of  
Calycut  
noted.



A stout  
stomacke  
of a prince

For he thought that immediately upon his coming to this  
ford, he should have passed the same. Wherefore he sent a-  
gain another messenger to the King of Coching, that he  
forthwith should send unto him those Christians: who an-  
swered, that since he would not deliuer them before time,  
when as he had occasion somewhat to feare his power, what  
shall he thinke he would doe now, when he hath the aduan-  
tage? But he aduertised him to looke well vnto himselfe, for  
that now he would not be contented onely with defending  
his Countrey, but hoped to giue him y<sup>e</sup> ouerthrow: which  
indeed had taken effect, if so be that his vntrue subiects, had  
not forsaken him. With this aunswere the King of Caly-  
cut remained in some feare, and indeed without any hope of  
victory, if so be that it had not bene for his owne souldiers,  
which gaue him counsell to send to ouerun certaine towne  
of Coching, which lay hard thereabouts, he would haue left  
the warres. Which had the sooner bene finished, if Naramu-  
hin had not bene driuen to send to succour those Townes,  
with some of his men. The king thought y<sup>e</sup> by this meanes  
remaining there but with the fewer, his strength should be  
thereby diminished.

But this pollicie was prevented by Naramuhin, who  
had a meruailous forecast to foresee such innouations. And  
for all this he furnished all places, where it was requisite,  
in such sort, as though himselfe had bene there present. And  
notwithstanding all this, the King of Calycut lost manie  
of his men.

How Naramuhin Prince of Coching, was slaine  
by treason, which the King of Calycut  
practised: and also how the King of Co-  
ching receiued the ouerthrowe, and was dri-  
uen to go to Vaypin for succour, and caried  
with him all our men. Chap. 54.



The king of Calicut seeing that his Cap-  
tains could not passe through that forde to  
encounter with Naramuhyn, he forthwith  
practised how he might passe the same by  
some pollicie. For the which intent he se-  
cretly vsed conference with the paye mai-  
ster of those Nayres which Naramuhyn had in his campe,  
and agreed vpon this, that there should be no payment sent  
to the Campe, as before he was wont to send daily, but that  
they should go to Coching to receiue the same there. And  
for his reward that he should consent therunto, he sent him  
a great present. By this meanes therefore Naramuhyn re-  
maining alone and unfurnished, his enimyes might passe  
the sayd forde the better. This being agreed vpon, the paye-  
maister according to his promise, sent worde to the Cap-  
taine, that all such Nayres as were in wages with the king  
of Coching, should come and fetch their wages, for that he  
could not send it them as before time. The Nayres hauing  
license of Naramuhyn, he charged them to retourne afore  
day, who promised him so to doe, howbeit they coulde not  
come, for that their payment was delaied, till it was broad  
day: and thus whilest they were in Coching, the king of Ca-  
licut entered the forde with his whole power both by lande  
and by sea, and with much ordinance, and the whilest that  
Naramuhin remained thus alone, the king of Calicuts pow-  
er grew to be greater then euer it was before. Then gaue  
he the onset, at the which Naramuhin was driuen to retire  
vnto certaine Palme trees, where ioyned vnto him all his  
men that he had left, he cast them into one squadron, which  
being as they were but few, did oftentimes break the aray  
of their enimies, with the which there were many slaine.  
But as Naramuhins power was but small, so they were  
compassed round about. And after that he had done manie  
notable acts, he was ouerthrowne, both he and two cousins  
of his which ther also were valiant gentlemen, with sundry  
others. Thus was he and all his slaine which remained in

Treason  
practised  
against y<sup>e</sup>  
prince Na-  
ramuhim

Prince Na-  
ramuhim  
and his  
power  
ouer-  
throwne.

the field. The king of Calycut would not folloiw the chase of those that ranne a waie, for that it was night, for so long the battaile indured. Ther were many of the enimies slaine also.

This netwes being brought to the king of Coching, hee was therewith a while as it were beside himselfe, and almost of euery man taken for dead, in especial of our men that were present. Those Nayres that were our mens keepers made no account of them, for that they had inough to doe to succour the king. When this ouerthrow was spread abroad, partly for the ill will which they ought our men, they sayde that they were the cause of Naramuhins death and the others, & that the king was not able to deliuer them from death. With this, the king returned to himselfe, and began to weepe, and spake sundry wordes, which our men did not vnderstand, for that his remembrance was as it were taken from him, so that being hard by him; hee saue vs not, but at length he asked for vs, with that our men drew nere toward him, who made vs also to weepe, onely to see him in that agonie. And being fully come vnto himselfe, he willed them in anye case not to feare, neither yet to doubt that this mischance should haue any such power, as to make him chaunge from that which he hadde alwayes promised. For which wordes they would haue kissed his hands, but he would not consent thereto, and hearing the sturre that his men made against ours, he sayd vnto them,

Comfortable words of a prince.

The kings Oration made vnto his subjects about the losse of his kingdom.

**N**ow that fortune doth shew her selfe froward against me, I had thought that as true friends and louing subjects ye wold haue travelled to giue me herein some comfort. But ye are desirous to folloiw and serue the king of Calycut, which as often as I doe remember, it doubleth my paine for the death of the Prince my brother, and my Cousins, and since you also are against the Christians, whome I haue so oftentimes incommended vnto you, you doe well knowe, that it will be much more grieue vnto

vnto mee, that they at your haundes shoulde receiue any hurt (then I haue already receiued for the death of my kinsmen, since they lyke true subiectes dyed in my defence) and you are desirous to persecute those whome I haue receiued vnder my protection, and such as remaine with mee for my comfort. It were a harde matter for me to perswade my selfe that this ouerthrow happened vnto mee, for doing vnto these men as I ought to doe. Doe you not iudge so, for I will not beleue that they were the cause, neither yet for that I doe fauour them, therefore God doth fauour the king of Calycut against mee. It is not so, but for that I haue offended him otherwise: I am very glad that there hath bene this occasion giuen, that I might receiue condigne punishment, and that the king of Calicut might be the onely executor of his iustice. And that also for all other offences that I haue done, I might be punished by him in seeking my destruction, the rather for that I doe keepe my promise with these Christians, in especiall being as we be, so much bounde vnto them. Therefore weie well this cause, and let it not sinke into your mindes, that for vsing clemencie to these Christians, and for defending them I receiue this punishment, neither yet that the king of Calycut hath power to ouerthrow my power which I canne make, and destroye me altogether, although that now we haue driuen mee out of Coching.

Overthrowes in war sent of God vnto princes for their offences.

The state of the Christians will not tarrye long, and then the Generall will restore vnto mee againe my kingdom. In the meane space lette vs goe to the Islande of Vaypin, which is strong, and for that the winter is at hande, I trust in God we shall escape the king of Calicut. And since my losse is farre more then yours, I comfort my selfe with this, requesting you to doe the lyke, & not to be an occasion to renew my troubles with this your mutinie.

They seeing the greates constancie of the king, mer

menailed much thereat, and immediately did quiet themselves and promised him that they would do that which he had commaunded, and so they did. The constancie of the king was so great, that whereas once more the king of Calycut sent him word, that if so be that he would deliuer our men vnto him, he would presently leaue the warres, yet he would not consent thereto, but sent him word againe, that since that he had gotten the victorie more by treason, then by valiantnesse, for if so be that Valure had bene blessed, his brother and cousins had not died, but they were betrayed by those that saue would kill him also. He did not passe for Coching it selfe, but hoped that those Christians which he looked for euery day, would restore him vnto it againe, & likewise renego his quarrell. This aunswere being come to the king of Calycut, he commaunded to destroye the whole countrey with fire and sword, which commaundement being once known, the feare was so great amongst the inhabitants of Coching that the most part of them ranne away, & with them went two Milanesis, which were Lapidaries, that remained with the ffactor, which vpon the king of Portugales commaundement were brought thither by Vasco de la Gama: the one of these was called Ioan Marya, and the other Pedro Antonio. Those did discover vnto the king of Calycut the feare that the dwellers of Coching were in of him, & how that dayly they came awaie. They also did offer the king to make him ordinance, and after ward they made him some as it shall appeare in the sequeale of the hystorie. The king of Calycut made verie much of this Milanesis, & gaue them greates rewards, to the ende therby he might winne them to make him more ordinance: and hauing certain knowledge, how few people were left in Coching, & what feare those that remained were in, and how few men the king had to defend himselfe, he put his men in a readinesse to take the same. The king of Coching, carrying some of our men in his companie, went to meet with the king of Calycut, whereas that date he behaued himselfe that it was wonder to see. Neuerthelesse for all that the enemies being verie many,

The inhabitants of Coching fflye for feare of the king of Calycut

and

and the king somewhat hurt, he was faine to retire, and for that he durst not carrie another battaile, he therefore repaired vnto another Island called Vaypin, which is right ouer against Coching, and is verie strong, to the which he carried with him all our men, and all the ffactorie, so that there was nothing lost. The Citie being thus disinhabited, the king of Calycut commaunded the same to be set on a fire. After this he sent his men to enter the Islande of Vaypin, which for that our men and others did defend it with greates valour, and for that the Winter was at hand, and stormes of foule weather did beginne, the king of Calycut was driuen of force to giue ouer, and to leaue the warres, and so went to Grangalor, with determination to returne vpon the same Islande at the spring. For the which cause he commaunded to be made manie trenches about Coching, and left many of his men to keepe the same.

The king of Coching is faine to fflye and leaue his citie.

How Vincente Sodre and Blas Sodre were cast awaie at Curia Muria, and what the other Captaines did afterward. chap. 55.



Vincente Sodre with his ffleete being departed from the harbour of Coching, without hauing any respect to succour the king, or those that remained in the ffactorie, but would needs goe towarde the kingdome of Cambaia, to take such rich ships of the Mores as come from the red sea to Calycut. Vpon the same coast he took by the helpe of other Captains fve ships, in the which onely in ready money there was found two hundred thousand Perdaos. The most part of the Mores were slaine in the battaile, and their ships burnt. From thence he kept his course toward certain Islands called Curia Muria, which stand a seaboard the Cape of Quardafum, where he thought good to bring his ships a ground, which were all open.

Wh.

He

1503

The fami-  
liaritie &  
securitie  
of y<sup>e</sup> inha-  
bitants of  
the Iland  
of Curia  
Auria.

He arrived there the twentieth of Aprill in the yere of our Lord . 1503. And although all those Ilandes were greatly inhabited by the Moyses, yet he would venture a land, y<sup>e</sup> rather for that the dwellers in that Iland were no men of war, so that with the onely feare they stood in of our men, they gave them good intertainment, selling unto them such victualls as they had, and did converse in their companie.

Vincente Sodre having brought a Caruell a grounde, thereupon the Moyses took occasion to tell him, that in the moneth of Maye, there came alwayes such a torment of storme out of the North, that no ships doe remaine there, but are driven a lande. And therefore such as knowe the same, doe immediately avoide the danger, willing him likewise so to doe, and to remove himselfe on the other side of the Ilande, which will be a defence for them, and when the storme is past they may returne without feare. But he not making account of their words, but rather iudging y<sup>e</sup> they meant to do him some displeasure, would not go from thence but answered them that their ships had Ankers of wood, that they were driven to a shore, but his were of yron: and for all that the Moyses could perswade him, he would never be removed. Yet Pedro Raphael, Hernan Rodrigues Badarsas, and Diego Pierres would not tarrie, but on the last day of Aprill they went their waie, and as for Vincente Sodre and his brother, they remained. And when the torment came and began to blow, their ships were driven on shore, for all their Ankers, and were torne in peces, in the which there were many men slaine. Amongst these they died the two brethren, and of the ships was nothing saved, but onely the Captaines that removed with the Caruell that was brought a ground. The losse of the two brothers was iudged to come by the handie worke of God, for their sins, and for not favouring the king of Coching, & for leaving the Factor with the Factorie of the king of Portingale in so greate a danger. And therefore those that were saved returned toward Coching to succour our men, if happily they had any such need:

The effect  
which the  
torment  
yrought  
amongst  
their ships  
in that  
coast.

Amongest themselves they appointed for Captaine General Pedro de Tayde, and so they made saille at the entering of Maie. And for that the Winter of the Indias was come, they passed greate stormes, whereby they sawe themselves sundry times in great danger. And for that they could not fall with coching, therefore they were driven to winter in Anfadina. Thre or foure dayes after their coming thither, there came thither also a Shippe from Portingale, of the which was captaine a gentleman called Antonio del campo, who departed alone after Don Vasco dela Gama: his tarrieng was so long by reason y<sup>e</sup> his pilot died, by meanes whereof he was driven to keep the coast, so that with great trouble & danger he arrived at Anfadina, where he was driven to winter, where also they sustained great necessitie for lacke of victualls.

How Francisco de Albuquerque, and Alonso de Albuquerque departed to the Indias, for two captaines generals of two flectes: and how they arrived at Coching, & did after their coming restore the king of Coching to his kingdome. chap. 56.



In the yere of our Lord. 1503. the king of Portingale supposing that the Admiral had left settled the Factorie quietly in Coching & Cananor, & that he should have no such need as to send any great fleet. Therefore he determined to send but sixe ships, imparted

1503.

The iii.  
voiage his  
Portingale  
to the in-  
dias.

unto two Captaines generals. Of the first there he named for Captaine general a gentleman called Alonso de Albuquerque, which afterward was gouvernour of y<sup>e</sup> Indias, as hereafter I shall declare in the third booke. These were his Captaines, one called Edwarto Pacheco, of whom I spake before, & Hernan Martines Mascarennas, who they said died in the voiage to Gordo. Of the other thre he appointed for Captaine general one Francisco de Albuquerque, cousin to y<sup>e</sup> other Alonso Albuquerque. These following were his Captaines, Nicholas Coello, one y<sup>e</sup> was in y<sup>e</sup> discovery of the Indias, and pedro Vas de la Vega,

Ph. ii.

This

This flete departed fiftene daies after Alonso de Albuquerque, and so as well the one as the other, passed in their voyage great stormes, in the which was lost Pedro vas de Lauega, Francisco de Albuquerque, which departed last of all, came first, and before Alonso de Albuquerque, who brought with him Nicholas Coello to Anfadina, who came thither in the month of August, where as yet he found Pedro de Taide with their Captaines, which were forced to winter ther. And hauing certeine knowledge of the warres that were published betwene the king of Calicut and the king of Coching, and all about our men, they went immediately with all the flete, which was of sixe sailes to Cananor, for that he would enforme himselfe the better thereof, and what had passed in Coching. At theyr arriuall in Cananor our men were verie glad of theyr comming. The king of Cananor himselfe reioysed so much, that he went to visite the Captaine generall a sea boord, and told him all what perticularly had happened to the king of Coching, and where the king was.

As soone as he knew all this, he immediately departed toward Coching, to the which place he came on Saterdaie at night, being the second day of September in the selfe same yeare. As soone as his comming was knowne to the king of Coching, ther was great reioysing at the same, not onely of the king & our men, but of all the dwellers in Coching. There were sundrye that at his conuning did so reioyce, that they plaied vpon sundrie sortes of instruments, in token thereof. All those that were in theyr trenches by the king of Calycuts commaundement, biewing this great ioye and mirth, and perceiuing wherfore it was, as soone as the night came, ranne their waie to Grangalor, for so the king of Calycut had commaunded them to doe, who also knewe of their comming by the waye of Cananor. Immediately on Sundaie in the morning, Francisco de Albuquerque came to an Anko: at the entering of the riuer of Coching. The king hearing of his arriuall, also sent to visite him by the ffacto:.

On

On the Munday morning, Francisco de Albuquerque hauing left his ships in good order, toke his boates, being verie well armed, and went in the same vnto Vaypin, & caried with him also two Caruells to succour him, if there should come any Parao. from Calycut. As he went somewhat far off from the Caruells, came after him Edwards Pacheco, who suspecting whereupon he went, leapt into his boat with some of his men, which came after him, with such hast, he made with his rowing, that he ouertooke him before he came to Vaypin, where the king of Coching was tarrieng for him along the water side, with as many men as went with him to the Iland. The pleasure was so great of theyr meeting, that as soone as the king of Coching had sight of our boates, he began to crye out saieng: Portingale, Portingale, and all those that were with him did the lyke. Our men also out of their boates did auncle were after the selfe same manner, saieng: Coching, Coching, in despite of the king of Calycut. As Francisco de Albuquerque did leape aland, the king of Coching was there ready, and toke him in his armes, with the teares in his eyes, for exceeding ioye, saying: that his desire was to lyue no longer, but to see himselfe restored to Coching, that his Subiectes might well perceiue, how much he was bound to passe so great troubles as hee had past, & all so: to serue the king of Portingale. In whose name, the Captaine generall gaue him great thanks, with promise to reuenge his quarrell vpon his enemies. And for his part he gaue him ten thousand crownes to spend, during the time that he did not receiue his rents, and this money was taken out of the Coffer he carried: which gift the king of Coching esteemed very much, for that he was very poore. Also his subiects iudged this to be done right liberally as it was noted amongst them all: and from thenceforth they thought all to be well bestowed, that the king had done for our men. Forthwith they carried the king to Coching, where he entered with great gloze, besides the reioysing which his subiects made: and from thenceforth all our men, were amongst them well esteemed. Now it was not long

after

after

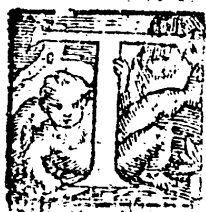
The king of Coching, fully beholdeth the return of the Portingale flecte.

Liberally tie vnto the hearts of the most barbarous & vntried people

The king of Coching reioyceth at the comming of the Portingale flecte.

after that the newes how that the King was returned to Coching, was brought to the King of Calycuts cares, and of the money that the Captaine generall had given him: who seeing that there was likelihood of wars, sent certain Caymalls into his Countrey to defend the same, for that it toyne unto the kingdome of Coching.

How Francisco de Alburquerque began the warres against all those that were enemies to the king of Coching: and how the Caymall of the Ilande of Charanaypin was slaine. Chap. 57.



The King of Coching being put in his possession, Francisco de Alburquerque took his leave of him: His entent was, that yet afore night he would partly revenge himselfe upon his enemies. And so he went to the Iland which is over against Coching, how as the inhabitants thereof were somewhat forgetful, and thought not that as that daye he would returne, so therefore did our men set upon them before they were aware, and that upon such a sodaine, that there were slaine of them a great number, and sundry of their Townes set a fire, and afterwarde they imbarked themselves without receiving any harme. And Francisco de Alburquerque going toward his flæte, met with the King, and tolde him what he had done. The next day after, he returned to the same Iland, to destroy it altogether. He carried with him to þ number of sixe hundred men, for so many he had, with those that he found in the other two ships, and there went with him all his Captaines: The Caymall of that Ilande was carrying for him along the water side, with two thousand Payres, wherof the most part were bow men, & others had speares, swords, and targets. They did all they could to keepe our men from landing, which they did without receiving any hurt: and they being galled sore with our Crossbowes, were driven away.

Our

Our men followed them unto the other side of the Ilande with so stout a stomacke, that they had no other remedie but to take the water, leaving behinde them many of their companie slaine and hurte. And our men not having with whom to fight, did set fire to all the Townes & were in the Ilande, so that the whole Iland was destroyed. The next day following, Francisco de Alburquerque went to another Iland called Charanaypin, which was belonging to a Caymall, subject to the king of Coching, who served in all these warres with the King of Calycut. Concerning whom by certaine spies that the King of Coching had in that Iland, he understood that he had made himselfe in a readines, to defend himselfe against the Captaine generall, having ready in armes three thousand Payres of the which were seven hundred men, and fortie with shot, besides all their houses fortified with sundry trenches round about. Also he had by him certaine paraos with Ordnance in the same, which the King of Calycut had given him. These were afloat in a certaine harbor, where our men pretended to disimbarke themselves: which were there placed, that they should resist our coming into that place, if that it were possible. About this place there was great store of boates, all furnished with Ordnance: but the enemies at the length, were driven to runne away, so that our men remained quietly in the harbour, where there stood in the water, yea, even by to their girdles a great number, alwaies forcing our landing, throwing at us both stones, and speeres, and shooting off their arrowes in great plentie. But as soon as our Ordnance began to go off, then they desperately began to run away and give place. Howbeit, they being a land, did so ioyne themselves together, & that in such sort: they gave our men enough to do to disimbarke themselves: for that the same was so valiantly by them resisted.

And for all that our men could doe, they would never leave them else altogether, but by a litle and a litle they retired themselves to their Iland, for to have amongst themselves, and there what with the hinderance that

The Caymall & his power, put to flight by the Portugales.

The great valientie of the Moores, in resisting the enemies landing.



that our men found by those trees, they defended themselves a small time. But afterward they ranne away, and that without order, so that our men followed them to the uttermost, in especiall the Constable of Francisco de Alburquerque, whom they call Pedro de lares, who found himselfe alone with three Nayres which came toward him. The one of these shot an arrow, which strake him in the breast, and for that he wore a breast plate, it did him no harme. And as the Naire loosed off his arrow, went off lykelike his shot, and strake the Naire in the breast, so that he overthrew him, and afterward shot off another peece upon one of the others that remained, and killed him also. By the third he himselfe was hurte in the legge with a certaine weapon, which they doe call a Ganya, and with the same hee that hurt him would have run away, but at length this Pedro lares, killed him with his sword. Thus all the enemies being put to flight, Francisco de Alburquerque did then determine to march toward the Caymalls house, wher he had gathered together all his force, which was somewhat strong by reason of certaine trenches that he had made about the same. The Captaines were divided on both sides of the Island, and each of them had their men with them, and in the middes of the Island were placed those of Coching. In this order they went all burning and spoyling such Townes as there were, and that without any resistance. Going in this order, there came certaine paraos from Calycut on that side of the Islande which Edwarte Pacheco had the charge off, who for y they were many in number did leape a land, & encounter with y foresaid Edwarte Pacheco, & had given him the querthploe, (if Francisco de Alburquerque had not bene) who came thether with those that he had in charge. And for that he found greater resistance in his Enemies, then he looked for, and also being somewhat asfearde least the Caymall would haue come thether to succour the rest, which if he had so done, would haue put him in danger: he therefore commanded Nicholas Coello to take with him Antonio del campo and Pedro de Tayde, and to set upon the

the Caymalls house, who was there slaine in defending himselfe valyantly. At that time manye more of his compagne were both slaine and hurt, the house was lykelike spoyled and ransakt: of our men were hurt eightene, and one onely slaine. In the meane while that this was a doing, Francisco de Alburquerque and Edwarte Pacheco, did put to flight those of the flote of Calycut, many of them lying along the water side sorely hurt and slaine, the others hadde enough to doe to imbarke themselves in their Paraos, in the which afterward they fled away. And in remembrance of so great a victory as this was, Francisco de Alburquerque made certaine knights, for that through their manhood the victory was obtained, for of three thousand Nayres the Caymall had, the least part escaped: and the Island was all destroyed with fire and sword: and thus after this sorte was the King of Coching well reuenged ouer his enemies.

The Caymall slaine in defending his house valyantly

Knights made after a valiant victory.

¶ Of the warres which Francisco de Alburquerque began to make against the Lord of Repelyn: and how by the King of Cochings license, a Castle was begun to be made called Manuel. Chap. 8.



At this being ended, then determined Francisco de Alburquerque to make wars against the Lord of Repelyn. And to begin the same, he departed with his other Captaines in the night toward a towne of his which is foure leagues from Coching, wher he came the next day about eight of the clocke. To receive him, there were placed along y water side welny two thousand Nayres, of the which ther were five hundred bowmen. Our men being come within a wale shot of the land, began to shote off in such sort, that the enemies were driuen to giue place, and retire vnto their Palme trees, who being there, did tarie the coming of Francisco de Alburquerque.

querque. He being disembarked, with the rest of his company did give the chief upon the enemies, having Nicholas Ceel o with his men in the forward, and after him marched the rest of the Captaines. At the first meeting were some of our men hurt with their arrows, which they shot standing by the side of their Mahine trees, which to them were a very good bulwark. Our men, seeing that as they were, and having those trees for their defence, they could not make them to remoue, did then remoue themselves, and got on the one side of them, shooting at them with their Crossbowes and Calabucers with the which there were some slaine, and the rest fled away unto their Townes, after whom our men followed so eagerly, that there was made a great slaughter, yea, farre greater then in the fieldes, for that there they were sperpeled & here they toke them altogether in their straits, where they might the better deale with them. The Towne being left alone, was immediately set a fire, the spoyle therof was given to those Navres of Coching which went with him: this rewarte Francisco de Albuquerque gave unto them, that they shoulde not thinke his coming into the Indias, was to robbe any man, but rather to reuenge such iniuries, as were shewed to the King of Coching.

Now at his returne with this victory, he was icyfully receiued at the Kings handes, who requested him, not to trouble himselfe any farther, for that he iudged himselfe to be well reuenged. But he aunswered him, that although his highnes was satisfied, yet he was not satisfied, but requested him to giue him yet farther license, for y he accounted it not any pains, to fight in his seruice. Howbeit he seeing y the King was contented, did then aske him license to buy a float of timber, forasmuch as after that he was gone for Orange Ile, there might remaine the Kinges Factorie sure and without feare, and all such as shoulde be lesse in the same. And this he declared to be the greatest service he coulde doe for the King his Master, to consent thereto.

To this request the King aunswered, that his desire was

was to serue the King of Portingale, with a greater matter then that was, for that he must needs confesse, that by his meanes, he was restored into his Kingdome of Coching againe. And therefore he willed him to make the same, and what els he would: and if that neede were, he woulde commaund it for to be made at his owne cost and charge.

This license being graunted, with the consent of the other Captaines, it was thought good the same to be made harde by the riuer of Coching, right ouer against the Citie within the lande, for that there it was thought most surest, and from thence they might best resist the coming of the King of Calicut. And for that they had neither lime, stone, sande, nor anye other necessaries thereunto, he was diuen to make the Caille of timber, which the King commaunded to be cut in great plentie, as well Mahine trees, as of other timber. He sent also many of his men for the furtherance of the worke, saying, that he would not haue anye of our men to laboure, for that as yet the troubles were sufficient that they had sustained in the warres past. But for all that, the Captaine generall wold not let, but cause them to worke.

The Captaynes were deuoted with their men, and beganne their worke the five and twentieth of September, in the selfe same yeare 1509. It was a great pleasure to see, with what diligence our men did labour: insomuch, that it was sayde there, that there were no such men in the world againe, as ours were, for that they serued for all payes.

¶ How the Fort of Coching was made an ende off: and how Francisco de Albuquerque and Alonso de Albuquerque returned againe vppon the Lord of Repelyo. In Chap. 39.

Heere the king of Coching gave license to Francisco Albuquerque to build a Fort in Coching.



Dure dayes after that the Fozte was begun, came thether Alonso de Alburquerque, who by meanes of the great stormes & other foule weather, could not come sooner: notwithstanding he brought all his men with him in health, of the which, Francisco de Alburquerque was very glad, and immediately departed a pece of the

Foxt to be made by his men, and by this his comming, the Foxt was made an ende off in a short time: which being as it was, made of timber, was as strong & faire as though it had bene made of lyme and stone. It was builded square, and within the walls from the one side to the other, it was square every way nine fathome. The walls were made of two orders of Palme trees and other strong timber, firmly set into the ground, and yoked together with ropes of yron, and nayled with great nayles. Betwene the two orders of trees, they were rampered up with much earth & sande, and at the ende of each of these Corners, wer builded bulwarks, which were replenished with Ordnance. Also there was cast about the same a Cause or Ditch, which alwaies was full of water. The next daye after that this Foxt was ended, there was made a solemne Procession, in the which, went the Vicar of this Fozte, who carried in his hande a Crucifix vnder a Canapie, which the Captaines carried over him, sounding befoze the same their Trumpets, with great ioye. With this solemnitie they entred into the Castle, which the Vicar did blesse. And by commaundement of the Captaines, they caused the same to be called Michael, in perpetuall memozy of the King Don Manuel, vnto whom all those that made the same were subiects. The Foxt being blessed, ther was a Masse sang, at which ther was also a Sermon made by Frier Galton, wherein was made mention how much they were bound to giue God great thankes, & would

permit

permit and condescend, that from so small a kingdome as that is of Portingale, and lieng on the cape of the Occident, there should goe Portingales to a land so farre off, as are the Indias, and to make there a foxt amongst such a multitude of enimyes vnto the Catholike faith. And that by the clemencie of God, this should be but a beginning of many others. Also he made mention how greatly bound they wer to the king of Coching, for the good seruice & herein he had done to the king theys soueraine: which words beeing brought to the king of Coching, he reioyced therat very much, & gaue the generals thanks for the same. After all this they returned & followed their warres against all such as were enimies to the king of Coching, and beset certeine townes which wer along the coast, siue leagues from Coching, the rather for that they were aduertised by their spies, that those Nayres that should keepe the same, were but few in number. They carried with them for that place seauen hundred men, and departed two houres befoze day, notwithstanding it was nine of the clocke befoze they came thether, in the which townes there were more then five thousand soules, ouer & besides childezen, and such Naires as were there in garison, which were three hundred, and those all bolmen, Alonso de Alburquerque, with other of the Captaines leapt a land hard by the first townes: Francisco de Alburquerque with the others into the other townes, which were a fawlon shot off. In the first they toke the enimies vpon a sodaine, with the scare thereof they made them runne awaie, for that immediately as soone as they landed, they set fire vnto them all.

Our mensking the enimies to runne awaie, went after them, and in ouertaking them there were many slaine of them, and after that they were wery of following them, they destraied the countrie. In the meane while the laronie was raised, and for that this Islande was well inhabited, there was assembled together well nigh five thousande Nayres, which did set vpon our men at theys imbarcking, so that they were in greate daunger, in especiall Edwarto Pa-

li, m,

checo,

They followe the vvars farther for the king of Cochings reuenge.

At the alarme sounded, the force of the Moores increaseth

A description and comendation of the Forte of Coching.

achieved, which found not his boat when he had left the same. They followed him so narrowly, that with their Bowes and arrowes there were of his men hurt to the number of eight, although they defended themselves valiantly, and killed many of their enemies. But for that the enemies were so many in number, they had bene worse handled, if so be those Captaines Generalls which were embarked, had not disembarked themselves and succoured them. The enemies seeing this, and having lost their hope to revenge their injuries, more then that they had done, did runne away, leaving behinde them the countie well covered over with dead men, which fell with their bowes and hand guns in their hands. The enemies being gone, after this sort, our men did set a fire in the houses, which were a ground, and took other seven, which were a state, and so departed, going their way alwaies halloving and crying, as who should say, they mock them, and so they graced the Lord of Repelyn, whose gladder they were, considering howe all they found the same provided. And they fearing least our men would returne upon another towne, which stood a league from the same, by the river, he sent certaine Paires thither immediately, and the Captaines Generalls returned to Repelyn, and afterward went to Caribona, and what Edwardo Pacheco did in these eyes, you see in the Chap. 60.

**T**he Captaines generall having knowledge of these townes, & to the end they should remaine nothing of the Lords of Repelyn, were not destroyed, they determined to follow them further. And therefore, the same night they departed, but before they would so do, they rested themselves till it was midnight; hard by the castle, & they might by the dawning of the day come to the towne, whether they minded to go. And for at that time was dark, yet they departed at that time, although one of them could not see the other. And Alonso de Alburquerque being told

to remaine behind, he commaunded his men to a place, by which means he was the first that came to the towne, & that a great deale before day. And being weary with standing for the rest of his companye, he commaunded to set fire to the towne, with intent to burne the same: & for that the enemies were surprised for his coming, he supposed he might there doe the same the better, and so he did. The enemies seeing the fire, arose forthwith to quench the same, which our men perceiving, did set upon them, & slew some, & the others ranne their wayes. Thus they did, for that they were of a base kinde of people and poore, and without weapons. The Paires knowing that it was our men that had set fire, came thither all such of them as were in garison within the towne, which were more then two thousand, who being together, did set upon our men very desperately, in so much that Alonso de Alburquerque with his men, was driven to refuge, for that they were no more then fortie, of which there was one slaine, & of the others there were some hurt with their arrowes. They had all of them hardly escaped, if so be that they had not retired, which was done not without great trouble. And yet he could not have done so much if the boys of the ships, which remained in their boats, had not set fire to a shallop, for feare of the which, as soone as the same was shot of the enemies, aparted themselves. By this time it was day light, at the which came thither Francisco de Alburquerque, who when he had knowledge what had passed, commaunded to be shot of all the ordinance that the boats carried, which made the enemies to flee from the shore. Whilest they were thus doing, Edwardo Pacheco did determine to leape a land, somewhat farther off from the others, & going forth to doe so, he found there many Paires with their weapons, which had past by a narrow way, to the intent to succour their fellows. As soone as he had sight of the, he commaunded to bring his boat hard to the right, where in his ordinance he did hinder and keepe that passage. When immediately came thither our men, which forthwith did leave a land, & setting upon their enemies, enforced the to run away:

The readinesse and forwardnes of Alonso de Alburquerque.

A base minded & cowardly kinde of people

and

The enimies  
towne set  
on fire

They re-  
turne fro  
pursuing  
theyr eni-  
mies

and for that they knew not the countrie they followed them not, but did set fire to the towne. When Edwardo Pacheco, & Pedro de Tayde did part themselves with their men to go and burne another towne which stode a little above the other, and in the way they met with eightene Paraos, all armed, of the king of Calicut, which they did put to flight, and the towne being burnt, as they before had determined, they returned to their Generalls. And for that it was somewhat rath for to returne, they went to the Island of Cambalan, intending to destroye y<sup>e</sup> same, for that the Countall was enemie to the king of Coching, where they burnt a greates towne. From thence Edwardo Pacheco, with five Paraos of Coching, went to burne another towne, but before they could accomplish the same, they fought a good while with their enimies, of the which there were some slaine. The towne being set a fire, he returned with his men, of the which were seauen hurt, and being retyred, he fought with thirteene Paraos of Calicut, which he did overcome with the helpe of Pedro de Tayde, & Antonio del campo, which came thither at that instant. The enimies being retired into a certeine creeke, there went after them Edwardo Pacheco, and was the cause that one of those Paraos ran a ground, and so he took the same, and in the meane while the others went their waie. And for that our men that towed were wearied, they went not therefore after them, but returned unto their Captaines generall, with whome they went to Coching. And giuing the king an account of that which they had done, he yalded himselfe sufficiently contented with reuenge of his enimies, and prayed them to giue ouer the warres.

What the captaine Generall had done going for a Tonne laden with pepper, and how Edwardo Pacheco did put to flight 34. Paraos.  
chap. 61.

Now



Now by reason of these foresaid wars, there was none that durst bring one graine of Pepper to sell at the Factorie. Neither yet durst the merchants goe to seek the same out, and for all that they were able, they could not get more then three hundred Bahars. And so they sent word to the generalls, willing them to send for it, being nine leagues of from Coching, y<sup>e</sup> which they immediately did, being accompanied with all the other Captaines of the flete, for that they shoulde goe for the same amongst all their enimies. And because they would not be knowne, they departed in the night, and in their way Edwardo Pacheco did destroy an whole Islande, where hee with onely those of his owne companie fought with five thousand of his enimies, & the Generalls did in the meane while put to flight xxiii. Paraos. This being done, Edwardo Pacheco and Antonio del campo, went and destroyed a great towne in the firme land, fighting with, & putting to flight two thousand paires, of the which ther were many slaine and hurt, and of our men not one. With this victorie they returned to their Captaines Generall, who sent immediately for the pepper, which was but a litle way of, and being night, themselves did depart toward Coching, from whence they were minded to send the Tonne which carried the pepper, laden with merchandise to giue in truck of the same. And for that it might goe the surer, Edwardo Pacheco was sent with other three Captaines, who carried each of them fiftie men a pece, & of Coching ther went 500. Paraos. Edwardo Pacheco being departed, did passe the foresaid straight before it was day, & therfore he was not seen, & being broad day did passe by the mouth of a strait, where ther were how men without number, y<sup>e</sup> which shot at our men with their arrowes. And if so be y<sup>e</sup> our boats had not been pauiced or fenced with their shields a litle, our men had receiued great hurt, for that the river was but narrow, so y<sup>e</sup> with their arrowes they might reach them, Edwardo Pacheco

The vali-  
ant  
page of  
Edwardo  
Pacheco

Ed.

checo



## The Conquest

checo saying that they were ioyned all together, and iudge-  
ing that on that sort they might do them some harme, com-  
manded immediatly one of the Captaines to keepe þe one,  
and he with the other two, & also those of Coching did de-  
terminatly come with þe proers of their boats a land, where  
there were two thousand men of the enimies, amongst the  
which he commaunded the fawlkons to be shotte off, the  
which did so enter amongst them all, that with the same  
there were many tozne in peces, so that it made the residus  
to retire from the water side, & there remained place inough  
for our men to disimbarke themselves without daunger, &  
so they did. And as the most part of them carried hand-  
guns, so they did set vpon them with the better stomacke.  
The enimies for all that gaue no place, but shot of their ar-  
rowes, which were so many in number, that it was thought  
that one met in the aire with another. The skirmish was  
valiantly handled of the one side, and of the other, which in  
such sort indured a quarter of an houre, yet notwithstanding,  
the enimie at length did runne away, and left of their  
company many slaine, the cause whereof was, for that they  
brought no weapons to offend their enimies withall. When  
our men pursued them to a village, out of the which there  
issued many paires, which ioyning themselves with those þe  
fled away, returned vpon our men with such a stomacke  
that they ran in great daunger, for that there were of the  
enimies wel nere sixe thousand men. A great multitude of  
those þe were ther, did then as much as they could to go be-  
twene the river and our men, but to resist them that they  
should not so doe, and to kill them all, our men defended  
themselves, and repelled them with greate difficultie. And  
as the river was thus defended, so they ran into the same, in  
the which they shewed themselves to be valiant. And when  
they drew nere to those that were in their boates, they se-  
parated themselves into two severall places, leaving one  
broad way, that our men might the better imbarke them-  
selves, standing without the daunger of their Ordinaunce,  
with the feare of the which the enimyes did suffer our men  
to

An hot &  
valiant  
skirmish.

## of the East India.

128

to imbarke themselves, whereat there was none either  
slaine or hurt, which seemed to be a miracle.

Here is contained the scituation of the Citie  
of Coulan, and how the Apostle Saint Thomas  
came thether, and there was martyred: and  
Alonso de Alburquerque went and laded there,  
and in what place did settle a Factorye.  
Chap. 62.



Immediately after this was the king of Ca-  
licut aduertised of the losse of those paraos,  
and also of all the successe that our men had  
in those wars, for the knowledge whereof he  
used all diligence, in respect of the great de-  
sire he had to turne vs out of the Indies, for  
that naturally they could not abide vs. And fearing least that  
we shuld take their countrie from them, they were so much  
the more desirous to hunt vs away. This thing they pro-  
cured with great instance, and also were the occasion that  
we should haue no Pepper. Making this account, that  
if so be that we should goe without the same vnto Portu-  
gale, it would be the occasion, that we would not retorne  
again to the Indies. By this meanes therfore we were dyl-  
igen to provide for the flete in their riuers, and that with  
such a number of men, that we could neuer haue aboue a  
1200. quintall of Pepper, of 4000. Bahares, that the Mer-  
chants had promised, and yet this we got with great shot  
of Ordinaunce, and hurt of our men, and with infinit shed-  
ding of blood of the enimies.

In the ende, the king of Calicut found the meanes by  
merchants his friends to perswade with the merchants of  
Coching, to giue to the Captaine general no more pepper,  
excusing themselves with the warres. Which thing was  
done in such sort, that neither with the request of the king  
of Coching, neither with anye gifte that was giuen  
them by Francisco de Alburquerque, he coulde moue

Why the  
Indias  
wer most  
earnest to  
hunt our  
men out  
of their  
Countrie



or perswade them to giue them anye more Pepper. Nowe the hope of our men for hauing the same anye more in Coching being past, Alonso de Alburquerque with Pedro de Tayde, and Antonio del Campo, were driuen to seeke for the same at the citie of Coulan, which they did the sooner, for that they knew that the gouernours of y<sup>e</sup> Towne were desirous of our factorie, the which was offered to Pedro Aluares Cabrall, and the Lorde Admerail. These that thus went thither, were fully bent to make warres against them, if so be that they woulde not giue them lading for theyr ships. Alonso de Alburquerque being departed from Coching with certaine Captaines, came into the port of the Citie of Coulan, the which standeth twelue leagues from Coching, and from Comarin yritt. the which is beyond the same, bearing toward the South.

The description of the citie of Coulan.

This Citie (as I saye) before that Calicut was builded, was the principall of the Province of Malabar, and the greatest and most principall Port of all that Coast. Notwithstanding, as yet their houses be both greate and sayde, and so are also theyr pagodes and Chappells comparable to these of Calicut. Their harbour or hauen is verie good, they are well provided of all sortes of victuals, the people are in condition like vnto those of Calicut. The inhabitants are Malabars, Gentiles, and Moors, and the Moors are verie rich and greate merchantes, in especially since the warres beganne betwene Calicut and vs, for many merchantes of Calicut leste the same, and nowe dwell there. They doe trade in Coromandyll, Ceylan, in the Ilands of Maladya, Bengala, Pegu, Ceymatia, and in Malacca.

The King of this country is Lorde of a greate Kingdome, wherein are many great Cities and rich, which haue belonging vnto them sundry goodlye harbours, by reason whereof his customes are great, and for that cause they are riche of Treasure, and are able to make a greate power of men of warre; which are for the most parte men but of lyttle stature. He hath alwayes in his

gard

gard, three hundred women, which doe vse bowes, and are very perfect in the skill of shooting. They haue about their breasts certaine bands of linnen & of silke, with the which they doe binde them so harde, that they are no hinderance vnto them in their shooting. This king hath for y<sup>e</sup> most part of his time, war with the king of Narlinga, which is a great trouble vnto him. He doth continually or for the most part remaine in a Citie, the which they doe call Calle. The Gouernours of Coulan are as it were Aldermen, in the which, there is a certaine Church, which y<sup>e</sup> Apostlic Saint Thomas builded, comming thither to preach the Catholike faith, by reason whereof, there were great numbers that turned Christians, as well of the Gentiles, as otherwise, so that of them there are proceeded from generation to generation the number of twelue thousand householders, that are scattered abroad in the Country wher they haue their Churches. The King of Coulan seeing how many were daylye converted, and the daunger thereof, did banish him out of his Countrey, who being thus gone, went to a Citie called Malapur, lyeng along that Coast, and is parcell of the Kingdome of Narlingas. And yet being there, for y<sup>e</sup> he was so followed by y<sup>e</sup> Gentiles and by y<sup>e</sup> Christians of Coulan, did apart himselfe to y<sup>e</sup> Mountaine, wher they affirme y<sup>e</sup> he dyed, & from thence he was brought to be buried in Coulan, in a vaine y<sup>e</sup> was made in the foresaide Church. This Church is nowe overgrown, with bushes and wodes, for that the Citie is disinhabited, onely there remaineth a poore Moze, which doeth keepe the same, for that there are no Christians nere vnto it: and there he liueth vpon the almes of all those y<sup>e</sup> cometh thither in Pilgrimage, as well of Christians as of the Gentiles, for y<sup>e</sup> Mozes doth not let to giue their almes likewise vnto him, for that he was buried in their Countrey. Alonso de Alburquerque being come to the harbor of this citie, & the Gouernours having knowledge thereof, they came to visite him aboard his ship, where within the same there was settled a peace, y<sup>e</sup> which was made vpon condition, that we should haue our factorie in the Citie, & also should haue

A gard of women with bowes & arrowes.

S. Thomas banished y<sup>e</sup> country

likeli.

as

The conditions of the peace made with the inhabitants of this Citie.

as much lading of spices and other commodities, as would lade presently those ships, the which immediatly they went about to provide. In the meane while that our men were there, and whilst that the one ship toke in his lading, the other two kept abroad in the sea, to watch all such as pass by from other places and those that they could discerie, were brought, some with their good wills, and others there were brought against their wills, to speake with Alonso de Alburquerque, and to shew him obedience as to a Captaine general of y<sup>e</sup> king of Portingales. He offered no hurt to any, but onely to the Mozes of the red sea: for all such of them as he toke, he would cause their ships first to be ransacked, and afterward to be burnt, in reuenge of that they had done to Pedro Aluares Cabrall, of the which those of Coulan were greatly afraid. The house for the ffactozie being finished, and the shippes laden, Alonso de Alburquerque lefte there for ffactoz, one Antonio de Sala, with two scriueners, the one called Rodrigo Aranso, and the other Loparabelo: and for interpretour one called Madera, and two Fraters for Chaplaines, with others, the which in all were xx. And so leauing them in peace, he departed toward Coching.

How the Captaine Generall departed for Portingale, and how he left in the Indias for Captaine Generall Edwarte Pacheco. Chap. 63.



ALL these things remaining in this order, there was sent a messenger to Francisco de Alburquerque from Colebiquin, a Moze of Calicut, which was a greate friend of ours, as I haue before declared, signifying that the king of Calicut was determined to set vpon Coching, immediatly after he was gone to Portingale, and so take the same, and to fortifie it in such sort, that

that he might defend the entering into the harbour, what soeuer armie should come. And for the furtheraunce of this enterprise, he had gotten the good will of all the nobilitie of Malabar, and that also for certainte it was bzuite, that the king of Cananor and the king of Coulan would secretly aide him.ouer and besides all this, that the Merchautes Mozes did offer him great helpes toward the same. After the selfe same sorte, did Francisco Reynel write vnto him a fewe dayes after, and how that the king of Calicut was preparing of souldiers, besides that hee had commanded much ordinaunce to be made, and that the Mozes of Coching were greatly in his fauour, and therfore he did aduertise him not to trust much vnto them: within two daies after the receipt of these letteres, the king of Coching wrot to visit Francisco de Alburquerque, and after the same manner told him that which he had learned of certeine Bramenes that came from Calicut, and willed him to beware & to foresee what daunger he was in to lose Coching, if so be that ther did remaine no armie of defence for that purpose. Laieng further before him, how many daungers he had bene in for the maintenaunce of our friendship, and for that cause his owne subjects had risen against him, and that now they minded to doe the like. Yet notwithstanding he had such a hope in our men, and our helpe, that he desired none other succour for to defend him from his enimyes, whereof he prayed him not to say him nay.

Vnto this, Francisco de Alburquerque, answered him, that if so be that he did well knowe whether hee hadde gotten, by such losses as hee hadde receiued, for the fauour which he had shewed vnto our men, he would receiue other greater losses if it were possible. For setting a side the great renoune and fame which he hadde gotten of a true and valiaunt Prince, hee hadde also recovered for a friende the king of Portingale, which is Lorde of such subjects as hee hath seene, who also are his to obeie and serue him in all thing, when neede should require.

And

The generals confort-  
table answer vnto  
y<sup>e</sup> king of Co-  
ching.

„ And farther, that they would with small trouble make him  
 „ Lord of greater cities then Coching, and that also he might  
 „ beleue, that euen as they did restore him vnto his estate,  
 „ euen so they would conserue him in the same. And although  
 „ that there were made with the King of Calycut the grea-  
 „ test peace that could be, yet he sayde he had so small a confi-  
 „ dence in his dowings, that he would not leaue him without  
 „ an armie of ships, before that he departed from the Indias,  
 „ for that he did well know, how little trust that King vled.  
 „ And if so be, that vntil this time he had dissembled with him,  
 „ it was onely to see whether by this meanes he might lade  
 „ his ships, for otherwise he could not do it, in especiall y time  
 „ being as it is so nere spear.

With this aunswere, the King was satisfied: and since  
 that Francisco de Alburquerque could haue no more Pepper  
 then that he had, which was but a small quantitie, hee  
 determined to depart toward Portugale, but first he would  
 nominate him that should remaine in the Indias for Cap-  
 taine generall, that the King of Coching should vnderstand  
 the same. And for that he knew, that he that was appoin-  
 ted, would thinke it very dangerous to remaine there, with  
 so few men as he was able to leaue him, he durst commit  
 it to none of his Captaines. Wherevnto after that he had offer-  
 red the same to them all, and they were not willing to ac-  
 cept it, last of all he gaue the gouernment to Edwarte Pacheco,  
 who did accept it with a great good will, more for to  
 serue God and his king, then for any profite he knewe that  
 hee should get in remaining in the Indias.

And when it was once spread abroad & knowne to the  
 king of Coching, that Edwarte Pacheco was he that was  
 appointed, he was well pleased therewith, for that he hadde  
 heard before of his valour. This being concluded vpon,  
 Francisco de Alburquerque made saile, carrying with him  
 all the rest of the flete. But first he gaue the king to vnder-  
 stand that he did carry the same no further then to Ca-  
 nanor, for because of the flete of Calycut, which might en-  
 counter with him, and so worke him some displeasure in his

port

Port, where he minded to stay (as he did) procuring the ly-  
 bertie of Rodrigo Reynel and the others that were there.  
 This determination being knowen to the King of Ca-  
 lycut, he sent him word, that it were not requisite that hee  
 should haue him away, but rather offered him, if so be that  
 he would tarrie, to giue him the Pepper that he had promi-  
 sed to deliuer. But hearing this, he supposed that he gaue  
 the same out, that Rodrigo Reynel with the others, should  
 be the more desirous to remaine in the Indias. At this in-  
 stant came in Alonso de Alburquerque which returned  
 from Coulan, and the time being spent, he would not tarrye  
 there any longer, but with the rest went toward Cananor.  
 And being there arrived, there came a letter from Rodrigo  
 Reynel, in the which he wrote vnto him, that the King of  
 Calycut was certainly bent to set vpon Coching, immedi-  
 ately after that he were gone. And that all those dissimula-  
 tions which he did vse in offering to giue him Pepper, was  
 but for feare he had conceived that he would haue burnt his  
 ships, which were as then in his harbour. This newes the  
 Captaine generall kept close to himselfe, that the same should  
 not come to heares of Edwarte Pacheco, vnto whom was  
 lefte the shippe in the which he went, and two Caruells, of  
 the which were Captaines Pedro Raphael and Diego Pi-  
 eres, besides a shippe boate.

Also they lefte him foure score and fenne men, and those  
 whole, that were needfull, for all the rest were sicke. Also,  
 there was lefte him, the most parte of the Ordnance, with  
 the most parte of the munition that they were able to spare.  
 Now being knowen to them all, of the great power that  
 the King of Calycut had in a readinesse, they did then mer-  
 uayle, that Edwarte Pacheco would accept the same, in espe-  
 cially, for that he remayned with so small a flete. Some  
 therefore there were that gaue out and sayde, God haue  
 mercie vpon Edwarte Pacheco, and those that doe remayne  
 with him: supposing that in very deede, he should not es-  
 cape.

And although these words were spoken within his hear-  
 ring,

Edwarte  
 Pacheco  
 appointed  
 Captaine  
 generall  
 for the  
 Indias

hearing, yet for all that he would not but tarrie. The Captaine Generall being dispatched, did depart towarde Portingale, the last of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lorde

1504 1504.

They depart from the Indias and saile towarde Portingale

The first that made saile was Alonso de Alburquerque, Francisco de Alburquerque, and Nicholas Coello that departed afterwarde, were cast awaye, Pedro de Taide was driuen to Quayloa, and entering vpon the Barre, his Shippe was there cast awaye, with the most parte of his men, by meanes whereof hee went to Monsambique in a Zambuco, where afterwarde hee dyed. Hee left there a Letter written of all his successe, and also declaring in what estate the Indias did remaine, which hee commaunded to be deliuered to any Captaine that should come thither from Portingale.

Alonso de Alburquerque, and Antonio del Campo came to Lisbonne the thre and twentieth of August, in the yeare aboue sayde, and tolde the King of the estate of the Indias, who also presented him with foure hundred weight of the greate seede of Pearles, which is called Alhofer or Ragges, and with 144. pounce weight of great Pearle, of greate estimation, and eight Dyffers, in the which the same do grow: and also a Diamond Tablet, the which was as bigge as a greate Beane, besides many other iewells, and also two horses out of Persia, the which were great runners.

¶ How Edwarte pacheco behaued himselfe in Cananor, and in his course toward Coching: and what else he past with the king at his arrival. chap. 64.

Francisco de Alburquerque being departed towarde Portingale, Edwarte pacheco which remained for Captaine Generall in the Indias, hauing a while stayed in

in Cananor to take in there his victualles, brought himselfe vnder sayle, and came to an Anko without the point of Cananor, and from thence hee sent Pedro Raphaell to goe a long the Coast, and to cause all such Shippes as he coulde discrye to beare with the Captaine, and to reknowledge him for their Generall. At this instant was Diego pieres a newe rigging of his Caruell in Coching. And all these Shippes that were brought befoze the Generall, gaue an account whether they were bounde, and what they carryed, and also of whence they were. And if so be that hee founde anye Pepper, hee woulde take the same, as hee did from some other shippes that were bound to Calicut, in the which order hee vsed such rigour, that afterwarde hee was feared of all men.

Whilist hee was thus at an Anko, there came vpon him in the night a flete of twentye and fve Saile of Shippes, which vpon a sodeine made him to coniecture that they were of Calicut. And seeing himselfe in such daunger, hee commaunded to let slippe their Cabells by theyr Halls, for that vpon such a sodeine they coulde not weye theyr Ankoys with theyr Capstaines, and with the same he cut and made his course into the Sea, to bring himselfe in the winde of those Sayles, vpon whome hee commaunded to shote off all his Ordnance. And as they were shippes laden with Rice, so ranne they their waye as fast as they coulde. Some there were that ranne a grounde, and more hurt had bene done, had it not bene for a greate ship of the Mozes that came in their company, in the which were well nere to the number of 400. Mozes, that were of the kingdome of Cananor. These thinking that they might take our shippe, came sodeinly vpon them, alwaies shooting of their arrowes, and we aunswering them likewise with our Ordnance. This skirmish continued till it was almost day, and then they tolde what they were. After that Edwarte pacheco had thus well beaten him with his Ordnance, with the which were nine of his men slaine, besides many that were hurt, they tolde what they were,

A valiant skirmish with an hot ship of the Moors.

Al.ii.

And

## The conquest

And for that there durst not passe anye Ship by for feare that they shuld be taken, the Captaine Generall departed towards Coching, and in the waye he fought with certeine ships of the Mozes, some he burnt, and others hee tooke, beside those that were sunke. Thus with greate victorie hee arrived at Coching, and landed at the Castle, where he understood by the Factor, that the newes of the preparation that the king of Calycut had made for the warres was most true, and that the king of Coching stood in greate feare thereof, for that the Mozes that were inhabitantes of Coching, were against their king for the mainteining of these warres against the king of Calycut. The next day following the Captaine Generall went to visite the king of Coching, carrieng his boats with him well armed and fenced, with certeine pauises made of Bozdes, and sette with flagges, besides certeine Ordinaunce which they had in the same, with the which he shewed himselfe to be verie ioyfull, the rather that the king might take occasion to be merrie: who after that he understood how small a flete there was left to defend his cuntrye withall, he could not be but verie pensatiue, and sayde vnto the Captaine Generall, that the Mozes of Coching hadde tolde him that hee did not remaine in the Indias to defende him from the king of Calycuts power, but to gather together the Merchandises that were in the Factorie in Coching, and in the Factors custodie, with all those that were there, and so to carry them all to Cananor and Coulan.

And therefore hee earnestlye requested him to tell him if it were so or not, for hee did thinke the same to be true, by reason that there was lesse so small a flete. Which the rather also made him to doubt that hee would not farre to fight with the king of Calycuts power, but woulde doe as the Mozes hadde tolde him, wherefore hee prayed him to aduertise him of the truth thereof, for that if it were so, hee might in time seeke his reuenge, although as then hee should hardlye finde the same, since that he had no further helpe,

The

## of the East India.

131

The Captaine Generall perceiuing the distrust that the king had, was offended therewith, and answered him, saying.

**I** Doe much meruaile of thee (considering that thou hast so great experience of the fidelitie of the Portingales) that thou doest aske me whether I doe remaine for so traitterous an act, as this is, that in such a time I should do as the Mozes haue told thee, & thou wilt beleue them, knowing that they are so greatly our enimies. Thinking that thou understanding of this, shouldest not bring in question such a matter out of all reason. And if so be that Francisco de Alburquerque would haue done any such thing, it had bene a great deale better that he with all his Captains had done it, and not haue left me alone to do the same, & to runne in daunger, and to meete on the seas with so great a flet of the kings of Calicut, for them to set upon mee only. And if it were so that I should haue remained for to haue done so foule a deed, yet I would haue tolde thee thereof, that I had so meant to doe, for that I was asfearde of the king of Calycuts power. But for that I doe take thee to be a man indued with reason, I did suppose that thou wouldest not haue thought ill thereof. For otherwise those being warned thereof, it might haue bene very profitable vnto thee, to haue remained free from the enuie and mallice of the king of Calicut. Which thing if so be that the Mozes had considered of, they would not haue tolde thee so great a fable. Beleue me, if they could haue done thee a greater iniurie, they would haue done it, for the good will thou doest beare vnto vs. This I doe knowe very well, but let not that trouble thee. For although thou doest lose them, and all the rest of thy subiectes, yet thou doest recouer me, and as many Portingales as here remaine, who all will die in thy seruice if it were neede, for that is the onely cause we did remaine in the Indias, and in especially: for there was no man that bound me therewith, if so be I wold not, but only the fidelitie & truth which thou hast alwaies vsed to,

L.iii.

wards

What great feare  
the king of  
Coching  
was put  
into by  
his traitte-  
rous sub-  
iects.

The an-  
swere  
which the  
Captaine  
Generall  
made to  
the king of  
Coching.

„ wards our men untill such time as thou diddest lose co-  
 „ ching, and diddest see the same burnt. For the which cause  
 „ thou oughtest to esteeme the better of thy selfe, for thereby  
 „ thou hast exalted thy fame thzough all the Countreie, and  
 „ therfore thy name wil remaine for ever, which is the grea-  
 „ test treasure that kings canne leaue behinde them, and the  
 „ onely thing that all men doe seeke for. And beleue me, when  
 „ the king of Calycut did first set fire to Coching, the same  
 „ was his destruction, which was afterwarde well reuen-  
 „ ged vpon thine enemies by the Portugales, & so thou shalt  
 „ now be as well defended by them. And although thou doe  
 „ este thinke vs to be fewe and a small flete, yet I doe pro-  
 „ mise thee, that very shortly we will seme to be verie ma-  
 „ ny by our valyantnesse. And I hope in God that we shall  
 „ so defend whatsoeuer straight or passage the king of Caly-  
 „ cut shall enter into, where assuredly we will tarry and not  
 „ remoue our selues from thence, neither night nor daye, and  
 „ for the passages that are straight, our armie is inough, and  
 „ therefore it skilleth not, there remaine no more for the ri-  
 „ uers, for that these are sufficient. And since that they chose  
 „ me to remaine, beleue certainly that they did well knowe  
 „ they left him that shal excuse thee of thy trauaile, and of the  
 „ wearieng of thy men. And therefore be thou merrie and re-  
 „ solue thy selfe (that by Gods grace) it shall not happen now  
 „ vnto thee as heretofore it didde, when thou diddest lose  
 „ Coching: for I and these that doe remaine with me shall  
 „ take vpon vs the whole charge and daunger of the  
 „ warres.

A few va-  
 liant men  
 are better  
 then many  
 more na-  
 ked and  
 cowardly

How the Moores of Coching prepared to go from  
 thence: and how the captaine Generall stayde  
 certeine of them that they should not departe,  
 and what more he did. chap. 65.

The



The king being with this, somewhat eased &  
 recomforted, touching that the Moores had  
 told him, the Captaine general went to see  
 the streights, & to fortifie them, which had  
 great neede thereof. But they all were wel  
 furnished, sauing onely the sword, which he  
 commanded to be fortified with stakes, that ther might en-  
 ter no vessells of the enemies. In the meane time he was  
 aduertised by a Letter from Rodrigo Reynel, that a prin-  
 cipall Moore of Coching, and besides diuerse others, did pro-  
 cure all that they could to leaue the citie, that y king might  
 remaine alone, & that ther vpon this Moore hath come twice  
 to speake with the king of Calycut in his owne behalfe, and  
 in the name of the others. This newes troubled the Cap-  
 taine Generall a while, howbeit to disappoint them of their  
 suttile dealing, and that the same shoulde take no effect, he  
 thought it necessaris to execute this principall Moore, that  
 the others might conceiue some feare thereof. This being  
 knowne to the king of Coching, he woulde not consent  
 therevnto, thinking that if so be that he were executed, the  
 others would make a mutenie immediatly, and then there  
 shuld be no vittuals brought into the citie, for that those did  
 prouide the citie therewith in trucke of their merchandise,  
 and therefore he thought best to dissemble with them all.  
 The Captaine Generall seeing that the king woulde not  
 consent therevnto, tolde him that he woulde talke with the  
 Moores himselfe, and that he had thought to vse some poli-  
 cie that none of them should depart out of the citie. But first  
 he commaunded all his owne men to obeye him in all such  
 occasions as shoulde be needfull or requisite, which comman-  
 dement the king also gaue out amongst his subiect: this be-  
 ing done, the Captaine general went with forty of his men  
 to Coching, to the house of this principall Moore called Be-  
 linamacar, who dwelt hard by the riuer side, requesting him  
 to send for certeine Moores which he did name, for y he wold  
 consult with them vpon a certeine matter which did con-  
 cerne them all.

To



To whom the Moyses came immediatly, for that they wer  
afeard of him, and when hee saue them all, he saide vnto  
them.

The gene  
rals Orati-  
on to the  
Mores co-  
cerning  
his abode  
in the the  
Indias.

How few  
Portingals  
haue van-  
quished  
thousands  
of their  
enimies.

I Did send for you all, honest Merchants, that you shoulde  
vnderstand, wherfore and for what cause I remained in  
the Indias, for that it is possible that all you do not know.  
Some there be that doe report that I do remaine to gather  
together the Factorie, and so to carrie the same to Coulan,  
and to Cannor: but that you may vnderstand it is not so,  
I will therefore tell you the truth. I doe remaine for no  
other purpose but onely to keepe Coching, and if so be that  
it were needfull or requisite, to die my selfe, and all those  
that doe remaine with me, in your defence, in preserving  
you from the king of Calycut. And this shall be manifest  
vnto him, if so be that he doe come, for I promise you all,  
that I will meet with him in the way of Cambalan, wher-  
as it is tolde me he will enter, and if so be there he dare  
fight with me, I will not doubt but to take him prisoner,  
and carrie him with me into Portingale. Wherefore vntill  
such time, as you doe not see any thing to the contrarie, I  
earnestly request you that you doe not goe from Coching,  
for that I heare that you are minded to goe from thence, &  
that you doe allure the residue of the inhabitants with you,  
for as you are the chiefest and principalls, so all the common  
sort of people doth follow you. Now I meruaile much y<sup>e</sup> be-  
ing men of so gret wisdom as you are, you wil leaue your  
houses in the which you were borne, & the country where  
in you haue dwelt so many yeres, not for feare of any thing  
that you haue scene, but onely of that which you heare,  
which thing for women to doe were verie ill, much more  
for you that are men. But if so be that you would go, when  
you shall see in daunger, or else ranne awaie, I woulde  
not blame you, but to goe awaie before you haue scene  
any of these daungers, or any battaile fought, I account  
the same, either cowardise, or else mallice. You doe well  
know, that in a manner yesterday, how few Portingales did  
giue

giue the ouerthrowe to thousands of our enimies, which  
now also come to seeke vs out. And if so be that you will  
alleadge, that we were more in number then we are now,  
indeede it is so, for then we fought in open field, where it  
was necessarie there should be many: and now in a nar-  
rowe way, where a fewe shall doe as much as though  
were many more. And since that I can fight, as you haue  
well heard of the same, for that I haue bene he that haue  
done most hurt to our enimies (as the king of Coching is  
a good witnesse thereof) I neuer meane to yeelde, who shall  
lose more then you all, if I be overcome. Haue ye therefore  
a sure hope in me, and in those that remaine with me,  
and carrie vntill such time you may see the successe of all  
things that we doe looke for, and since that your king doth  
tarrie, why will ye goe your waie? Remember that I and  
the others that doe remaine with me, doe sojourne in the  
Indias so farre from our Countrey, to defend the king of  
Coching, and you that are his subiects and naturally borne  
in the Countrey. Will you then forsake him and your coun-  
trie? It were great shame for women so to doe, much more  
for honest men as you are. I doe desire you that you do not  
dishonour your selues, nor yet doe to me so great an iniu-  
rie, in hauing no confidence that I will defend you: for I  
doe giue vnto you all my word, that I will defend you fro  
a greater power then any the king of Calycut canne make.  
For therefore and for this cause was I chosen, and those  
that did appoint me to remaine in the Indias, did know of  
the warres that the king of Calycut intended, and what  
power he had, in respect whereof I doe once againe request  
you, to beleue that the king of Calycut shall neuer set his  
foot in Coching. Wherefore I desire you that none of  
you doe remoue, for whosoever doth otherwise shall well  
vnderstand, that if so be I may take him I will hang him,  
and so I sweare by my lawe. And moreover I giue you to  
vnderstande, that none of you all shall escape, for here in  
this port I doe minde to tarrie, watching both day & night.  
Now therefore let euery one of you looke to that which shall  
be,

An hard  
threatning  
but poly-  
tike and  
necessary.

Am.

„ behoue him, and if so be you doe perforce that which I  
 „ haue requested you, doe you then assure your selues to haue  
 „ me for your friend, and if not, for your mostall enimie, and  
 „ more cruell then you would wish me to be to the king of  
 „ Calycut. And therfore each of you, speak plainly your mind  
 „ what you will doe herein.

This being spoken, it gaue him occasion to encrease his  
 cholar, that without any consideration thereof, hee did speak  
 so loud, that the Mozes with the same did double theyr  
 feare, that they had conceiued of him, fearing indeede that  
 immediatly he would haue hanged them all. Wherefore pre-  
 sently they began to excuse themselves, touching that hee  
 charged them with all, but he would not carrie the hea-  
 ring of the same, to the intent to put them in greater feare,  
 but sent immediatly for his Ship, causing it to be brought  
 to an Anko, hard ouer against Coching, besides one of the  
 Caruells, and two of the boates, which he appointed forth-  
 with to be set in such order, that there coulde none goe out  
 of Coching by water, but must needs be seene.

He had also many Paraos, which he hadde caused to be  
 newly rigged, with the which in the night, he watched in  
 the riuers, which runne round about the citie. Also at Sun-  
 setting he would take all the boats that could carry men or  
 stufte, and commaund the same to be brought a boorde his  
 ship, and to keepe the watch, and in the morning he returned  
 them to their owners. With this diligence they of Co-  
 ching were so feared, that there was none y durst go forth  
 without his licence, & by meanes of those extremities bred,  
 the Mozes and Gentiles were quiet, yet for all these trou-  
 bles that the Captaine Generall had, the most part of the  
 night he would venture a land into Repelyn, in the which  
 he burnt towne, killed men, and tooke greate store of Cat-  
 tell and Paraos, and also did them sundrie other iniuries, at  
 the which the Mozes of Coching much meruailed, namely,  
 how he could suffer so great trauaile, and therfore they gaue  
 out, that he was the diuell.

they call  
 Captaine  
 Generall  
 a Diuell.

How

How the Captaine Generall made an entrie into  
 Repelyn, and also how he departed towardes  
 the Straights of Cambalan, there to carrie the  
 king of Calicuts comming. Chap. 66.



**A**t this instant was the king of Co-  
 ching aduertised that the king of  
 Calicut was come to Repelyn, to ga-  
 ther his power together, and so to go  
 from thence to Coching by the  
 Straights of Cambalan. After y selfe  
 same manner did Rodrigo Reinel,  
 write vnto him, who lay as then ve-  
 ry sicke, and after ward dyed, which  
 the king of Calycut hearing, commaunded to be taken all  
 that he had. This being knowne to the Mozes of Coching  
 that the king of Calycut was in Repelyn, they wold haue  
 giuen occasion to the towne men to haue runne away, but  
 there was none that durst venture to doe it, for feare of the  
 Captaine Generall. Who after that he knew for certaintye  
 of his being in Repelyn, and that all men might vnder-  
 stand how little he did esteeme the king of Calycut and his  
 power, and armie of ships, did one night set vpon a towne  
 of the countrie of Repelyn, at such houres when all were  
 a sleepe, and did set fire to the same. And after that it was  
 well kindled, our men were knowne, and immediatly there  
 came many paires, as wel of the towne, as also from other  
 places thereabouts adioyning. The Captaine Generall was  
 forced to retire, & that with great daunger, vnto his boats,  
 with five of his men hurt, and of his enimies there were  
 many slaine and hurt, & yet for all that, those enimies that  
 remained aliue, followed him a good while. And as our men  
 returned toward Coching, there were shot by them so ma-  
 ny arrows which fell vpon their boates, that their targets  
 were all couered with the same.

This being knowne to the king of Coching, that he was  
 come to the Castle, he went to visit him, for that he accoun-

¶m.ii.

ted

The cap-  
 taine gene-  
 rall & his  
 men infor-  
 ced to re-  
 tire vnto  
 theyr  
 boates,

ted that enterprize for a great matter, in especially the king of Calicut being there present, who had in a readinesse so greate and mightie a power, and so he saide. At the which the Captaine Generall laughed, and therewithall he tolde him that he woulde desire no more but that the king of Calicut woulde once come, for that he woulde fight with him a battaile, and then woulde be apparaunt the valiantnesse of his men. They of Coching being now all quiet, as also the Captaine general hauing made vnto the principals an Oration, he prepared his men in a readinesse for that he minded to depart to the Straights of Cambalan. And in the meane while he left in the shippe xxi. men with the master, which was called Diego Perra, whom he lefte for Captaine in his absence, and also as well furnished with Ordnance and shot, that they might defend themselves the better. The names of those that tarried with him I do omit, as also those that remained in the Castle. Those that the Captaine Generall carried with him, were to the number of xxiii. men: and in one of the boats he appointed for Captaine, him that went for Captaine in the Caruell Santa Maria, whiles she was a rigging, with xxi. men. The captaine Generall went in another boate, in the which with himselfe there were one and twentie men. Amongst them all their number was lxiii. men, who all both those that were in the Caruell, and those that were in the boats, being all confessed, and hauing receiued the Sacrament, the Captaine Generall departed to the Straights of Cambalan, on the Fryday before Palmes Sunday, being the xvi. of Aprill, 1504. Thus departing with great pleasure, and with shewing of their Ordnance, leaping, and dauncing, when they came ouer against Coching, the Generall landed to talke with the king, which was tarrieng for his coming by the water side, so heauie and so sadde, that he coulde not hide the same. The Captaine Generall making as though he vnderstood nothing of it, said vnto him: that there they were all ready with great pleasure and good will, to depart toward the passage, to defend him from the king of Calicut,

1504

These words the Captaine Generall speake vnto the king at his departure to wards the passage.

licut, whom they went to seeke out, that he shoulde vnderstand that they had no feare of him. The king smiled at these wordes, as it were suspecting his good successe. Notwithstanding, he appointed him 500. Paires (of five thousande which he had in armes) of the which he named for Captaines, Gandagora, and Frangera, which were ouersers of his householde, and Caymal de Palura, to whome hee gaue commaundement that they should obey the Captaine general as his owne person. This being done, the king stode and viewed all our flecte, who at that time shewed himselfe to be very heauie, to see how few we were in comparison of the great power of the king of Calicut, and vpon the same took occasion to speake vnto the Captaine General, saying.

There was represent vnto him the great danger which he feared might happen vnto him, and that which chanced to himselfe this last yeare. And therefore doe I desire thee, quoth he, to encourage thy selfe, to doe that which thou art able, and not to suffer thy heart to deceiue thee, but to remember how much the king of Portugale shall lose in losing thee: and with those wordes his eyes stode full of water, which to see, the Captaine Generall was very sorie, and sayd vnto him.

That better are a few and valiant, then a great multitude and cowards. And whether (sayd hee) our men be valiant or not, your selfe haue well scene, & also how contrarywise it fareth with the enimies, your selfe likewise haue had experience. He inferred also howe in that place where hee minded to tarrie for his coming, there needed but a few to defend him. And therefore he praised him for to be content, and therewith he departed, and came to the passage of Cambalan, two houres before day, where finding no signe of the coming of the king of Calicut, he went in the meane while, and did set vpon a towne of the selfe same Ilande of the Caimalls, where in the dawning of the day he arrived in the Harbour, a long the which there was appointed, 800. Paires to keep the same, which were Archers, and

the words of the king of Coching to the captaine general.

The answer of the captaine general made to the king of Coching.

”

”

a few with their Calcutters, which were there sarying for him. And although those with their calquers, and the residue with their arrowes, shot of at our men, in such manner that they seemed to shadow the Element, yet with the pauces of our boates, the which were made of boards of two fingers thicke, much like unto Targets or shields, we did so defend them of, that they were driven to row toward the land, which was done for that those y<sup>e</sup> were there shuld geue place, y<sup>e</sup> our men might leap a land. When y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general comanded his ordinance to be shot of, with y<sup>e</sup> which they leapt a land: howbeit, y<sup>e</sup> enemies returned vpon them, & therein shewed themselves to be valiant, for y<sup>e</sup> space of an houre. But after ward they fled apace, & many of the in the conflict, at y<sup>e</sup> present were both slain and hurt at our mens hands. But after that our men had set fire to the towne, and the same was well kindled, the captaine generall did retire, & going toward the passage, in their way they toke and killed much cattell which they carryed with them: and although the people of the countrey did defend themselves very wel, yet our men being come to the passage of Cambalan, the Cay-mall sent to make peace with the captaine generall, with a certaine present, which he would not receiue, neither yet make peace with him, for that he was an enemy vnto the king of Coching. Whereupon the next day after, the king of Calicut sent him word that he would geue him the battell, and also that he was greatly offended that he had placed himselfe where he did minde to enter. And moreover, it was tolde him that they did all affirme, that the kinge of Calicut was like to geue him the ouerthrowe and to take him prisoner, or els to kill him in the battell.

To the which the captaine generall answered, that the selfe same hope he had to doe by the king, the rather in honour of the daye, which was a solempne feast amongst the Christians, adding moreover y<sup>e</sup> his wytychys had disappointed & deceyued him much, to promise him the victory in such a day. Then a certaine Naye which came with this Messenger, hearing the Captaine generall say so, answered him

him, and that with a smiling countenance, as though he had mocked him, that there were very few men to doe y<sup>e</sup> which he spake of: & also y<sup>e</sup> the king of Calicuts men were so many, y<sup>e</sup> they were sufficient to couer the whole earth & the water. Which if it be so, how (said he) can they be overcome. With this answer y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall was greatly offended, & for that he was thought to be one of the king of Calicuts Nayres, he borte him well, willing him to bid the kinge of Calicut reuenge the same. With the which the others that came with the message, were so greatly afraid, that they neuer durst afterward auouch the king of Calicut.

That same evening the King of Coching sent to ayde the Captaine Generall with five hundred Nayres, of the which he made no account, nor of the others before, for that he knew they would all run away. In our men, next vnder God, hee had his confidence and whole truste, who all that night made greatesse, that the kinge of Calicut might vnderstande that they did not feare him, but rather shewed great forwardnes to geue him y<sup>e</sup> battell, of the which y<sup>e</sup> Captaine general was very glad. And there fore before it was day, he spake vnto al his men in this manner. Masters and my friends, for the great content that I doe finde in you, I doe for most certain prognosticate the great gift y<sup>e</sup> God in his seruice wil geue vnto vs this day. And I doe beleue for most certaine, that as God hath geue vs stomacke (being so few as we are) to dare fary & abide so many thousands of men as there are of our enemies: so he will geue vs force and strength to resist them, & herein wil shew his great power, & as it were a miracle so greatesse as this is, in exalting of his holy faith: and in his holpe name I do desire you, that you wil so beleue, for y<sup>e</sup> without this hope, although we were as many as the enemies are, and they as few as wee bee, yet all our strength were nothing, and being in this hope, all the multitude of the enemies will seeme vnto vs but few to overcome: for they doe iudge vs to be many more then wee are, their feare is such. And this also you may beleue, that if their

The captaine generals words spoken vnto his men.

Heere the battell was offered by the king of Calicut vnto the captaine Generall.

„comming as at this day with their great presumption be,  
„for that they are many, hauing most assured hope to take vs,  
„yet they will haue a feare from hence forth, so that they  
„spirits will be broken, to set vpon vs any more, which thing  
„if they did, it would be more for feare of the king of Caly-  
„cut, then for any good wale they haue vnto him. And there-  
„fore I pray you remember, that with this confidence you  
„must fight, and God shall giue you the victorie, and that  
„with honour of all the Portingales, and a perpetuall fame  
„amongest the straungers, and deserts befoze our king, that  
„he may reward you for the same, wherby you shall the bet-  
„ter mainteine your selues all the dayes of your life.

Vnto these words they all answered, that in the bat-  
tell he shoulde well see how well they did remember his  
speech. And immediatly they fell vpon their knees and sung  
the Salve regina in tune, & afterward an Ave Maria with  
a lowde voice. At this present came Larenco Moreno from  
the Castle, who brought with him foure of his Calceuer  
men, for they would needs exercise themselves in this bat-  
tell. The Captaine Generall was very glad of their com-  
ming, for that they were very valiant.

How the king of Calycut gaue battaile vnto the Cap-  
taine Generall in the straights of Cambalan, and  
how he had the ouerthrow. chap. 67.

**T**his night by the perswasion of the Italian  
runagates, the king of calycut commaun-  
ded to be made a plat-forme of skonce, on  
the which there might be placed five pe-  
ces of Ordnance, the which might stand  
right ouer against wher the Captaine Ge-  
nerall was, that from thence they might shote off their or-  
dinance, at what time they meant to giue the onset, and  
for that the straightnesse of the passage was a dan-  
ger vnto him. So on Palmes Sunday the king of Calycut  
marched forward, with xlvii. thousand men, the which were  
as

as wel of the Paires as of the Voyes: besides that he went  
accompanied with the king & Caimalls, which were come  
vnto him, to aide and succour him, not onely with their  
otone persons, but alio with their men. That is to say, the  
king of Tanor with foure thousand Paires: the king of  
Bybar, and of Curran, which is hard by the Mountaines of  
Narsinga, with twelue thousand Paires: the king of Co-  
togataco, which standeth betwene Cananor and Calicut,  
hard by the Mountaines, with eightene thousand Paires:  
The king of Curia, which is betwene Panane and Gran-  
galor, with thre thousand Paires: Also Nabeadarin, which  
was Prince of Calicut and Namboa his brother, and the  
king of Calicut himselfe, who had a great number, which  
for that they were many, I doe not rehearse. The sortes of  
instruments that they had for the wars were so many and  
diuerse, that when they began to play vpon the same, it was  
thought that heauen and earth woulde ioyne together.  
ouer & besides the great multitude of the people, the which  
did couer the whole earth. Those that went in the vanguard,  
as soone as they came to their setting, did giue fire to the  
ordnance, which as they lay nere to the Caruel, so it appe-  
red partly a miracle, that there was no pce that did hurt  
it. Howbeit our Ordnance being shot off, did all light full  
amongst the enimies, and killed many of them, although it  
was befoze day, the which vntill Sunne did rise, were in  
discharging out of the Caruell, aboue xxx. pces.

After all this, the whole flote of the enimies beganne  
to come out of the riuers of Repelyn, which were 169.  
Foyles, that is to say, thre score and sixe Paraos, the which  
hadde they defence of sackes of Cotton, which deuise was  
giuen them by the Italians, that our Ordnance shoulde  
not hurt their men.

Each of they boates or Paraos had two pces of Or-  
dinance in them, and five and twentie men, of the which  
there were five in euery Parao that had their Calcuers, and  
all the rest were bow men.

Also there were twentie of these Foyles, all cheined to-  
gether,

The kings  
and Cai-  
malls that  
assiste the  
king of  
Calicut a-  
gainst the  
Portin-  
gales.

gether, for to set upon the Caruell. Also there were liue Catures, beside thirtie greate Barks, each of these hadde his parte of Ordnance, and sixtene men, which serued in him with sundry kindes of weapons.

Besides all these armed vessels, there went other furnished with men, which being all together, it seemed that the whole riuer was couered ouer, in the which flect were well nere thousand men, and of this flecte was Admerall Nabecadarin, and for Vice Admerall the Lord of Repelyn. Certainly to see them altogether vpon the water and lande, was a greate terrour, all of them being halfe naked, some of coulour blacke, and others of a darke Tawnye. And vpon their weapons the Sunne did so glister, that they appeared as though they had bene swordes, and newly ground, and so lykewise did their targets, the which were of sundrie coulours, and shewed very gallant. And for that our men should stand in the more feare of them, they gaue out great cries and laronis. After this they beganne to sound vpon their instrumentes of warre, which noyle continued alwayes, now after one sorte, and then after another.

Our men bearing amongst such a multitude, and being in theyr Caruell and theyr boates, coulde scarcelye be discerned, for with the flecte, they occupied almost all the passage, by meanes of ropes they gaue the one the other, which ropes were wounde about with theynes, that they should not cut them a sunder. And after that they hadde done this, commaundement was giuen, to giue fire to the Ordnance, with the which the enimyes were ressted.

At this instant those Playes that were of Coching did all runne awaye, onely Grandagora and Frangora remained for that they were in the Caruell: otherwise they woulde haue gone as the others did, which had bene no matter, but that they should see how valiantly our men defended themselves in the battell, into the which they went in a great heate.

The

The Naires of Coching do all run awaye

The Ordnance went off so often, and lykewise the small shot, that there was none that coulde see one another, for the smoake of the same. The Caruell and the Boates did so flame in fire, and did so cruelly handle the enimyes at the first entering, that there were torne in peces some of their Paraos, and manye of their men slaine and hurt, without any of ours hurt, or standing in any danger thereof at all. By this time, the enimyes were come, within the throtte of a Dart. Howbeit, as they were many, and that without order, the one did hurt and hinder the other, so that they could not fight. Yet notwithstanding, the xv. paraos that went before, did trouble our men verie much with theyr Ordnance which they had, for that they went cheined together.

Our men being wearied and hurt, and the battle hauing endured a good while, the Captaine Generall commaunded a Saker to be shotte at them, the which till that time had not bene shot at the enimies. And after that the same was twice discharged, they all fledde, and for that they laye very thicke together, it did immediatlye sinke foure of them, and with that they were all overcome, and so they ran theyr waye. The residue of the paraos which did continue in the battaile, were eightene sunke, and thirtene fledde awaye, the residue gaue place, in the which there were of the enimyes greate numbers slaine and hurt.

After all this came the Vice Admerall called the Lord of Repelyn, with another Squadron, and gaue a proud onset, so did the king of Calicut giue the lyke vpon the land. This battaile was farre more vehement then the first, in the which were manye more of the enimyes slaine, then before, as appeared by the water which was of the coulour of blood. Yet for all this, the Lord of Repelyn made loyde outcries, commaunding them to laye the Caruell aborde, but for all that they durst not venture to doe it, but rather were desirous to goe theyr waye, as they also that were a land did the like.

An.ii.

At

The enimies vtterly discomfited, doe run their waye.



It was now at this present past Euensong, from the time the battell did first beginne, in the which were of the enemies slaine, not onely by land, but also by water. 350. men, which were knowne, besides others, the which were aboue a thousand: and of our men there were some hurt, but none slaine. And although they pellets were made of cast yron, yet they did no moze hurt, then a stone being throwne. Howbeit, our defences were all forne in peeces, and one of our boates also, neuerthelesse, not in such sorte, but that it might be new rigged before that it was night.

How the king of Calicut seeing the ill successe that hee had in the warres, did enter into counsell to leaue the same. Chap. 68.



Those kings and noble men which came to succour and aide the king of Calicut, perceiuing that he was thus ouerthrowne, and that with great losse both of his men & vessels, although his power were great, and ours but very smal, & that the captain Generall neuer made any reckoning of the king of Calicut nor of his force, but for al that did ouerrun the Countrie, & destroyed it, some there were of them that made a greate wonder thereat, & sayd that our God did fight for vs, where vpon they lost all the hope they had for euer to giue vs the ouerthrowne, and from thence forth they had themselves in no reputation, but rather were very sozie that it was their euill hap to come in the aide of the king of Calicut. Those that did most repent themselves of their comming, wer subiects to the king of Coching, for that their countries were situated along the riuers, which did put them in the moze feare of the Captaine Generall, that he wold set fire to their towne & houses, or otherwise destroye them. And for that cause, they determined to leaue the king of Calicut, & wold make no moze wars against our men, moze then that which was past already.

And

And vpon this condition, they returned to the king of Coching, with whom they reconcyled themselves, and those that did thus were, one called Marugata, Muta Caymal, and his brother, and Cousins, who immediatly after the battaile, did so secretly depart from the king of Calicut Campe, from whence they went to the Island of Vaypin, to stay there, till they might see their time, as I haue sayd. But when the king of Calicut had knowledge that they were gone, and also vnderstoode where they were become, he was very sozy therefore, which also was the occasion that he renewed all his griefe, that hee had conceyued for his ouerthrow, which he had receyued at our mens hands, that were so few. Whereupon he tooke occasion to rebuke his captaines, saying, that they were good for nothing, and that through their defaulte our men continued and kept these passages. And if so be, that they had had any shame, they wold on this time haue dyuen them from thence, in especially hauing geuen so often the enterpryse to passe the same. Then those two Italians that were presente, did replie vnto the king, that although our men had done most valiantly, yet that which they did was like vnto the dedes of desperate men. Notwithstanding, that they were not able to defende themselves long, from such a power as his was, in especially, not hoping to haue any succour. And therefore they willed him to set vpon them often times, for by that meanes it was possible to take them. Some also of those kinges and noble men that came to succoure the king, and that were desirous of warres, did confirme that which the Italians had saide before, addinge moze co-ner, that God doth permitte his enemies sometime to haue the victorie, for a moze greater losse vnto them, and therefore it were good saide they, that he followed his friends counsell, and prooued their steadfastnesse. And although it were so, that he had not the victorie immediatlye, yet hee should not therefore dispaire. The king finding himselfe somewhat vered in minde with those wordes, answered them saying, Although that eche of you is so valiant, that

The king of Calicut much bla-  
meth his  
captaines  
for being  
ouer-  
throwne  
by so few

On iii.

it

the kings  
aunfwere  
vnto this  
aduice.

it appeareth vnto you, a small matter to overcome those  
Christians, yet I am not so obstinate to thinke the same.  
Wherewith I suppose yet, that you doe see in me no such a

feare, that thereby you might iudge it needfull, to streng-  
then me with those words: For what can you tell me in  
this case, that you may satisfie me withall? For if so be,  
that you will consider as much as I doe, you would some-  
know, how great an acte this is, that you doe make so lit-  
tle accompt off. I doe not take it in vs for so great a victo-  
rie in ouercomynge these Christians, but rather in them,  
in defending themselves from vs, as they haue done. Wher-  
in it hath well appeared, that their God did fight for them.

No doubt  
but God  
doeth  
fight for  
his ser-  
uants

And will you see how it is so? You maye well  
consider, that our men are many, and that they haue bene  
balyant in the warres past, it hath well appeared in many  
and great battailes, wherein I haue overcome mine en-  
emies, as you do all well know. But since they haue fought  
with these Christians, they seeme to be (not as they were)  
no; durst giue the onfet vpon them, for the feare they haue  
conceiued. And certainly, as farre as I can learne, and al-  
so all those that are of a good iudgement, we ought to be-  
leeue, that those workes are rather of God, then of man.  
For who is he that would not be asfearde of them, wel per-  
ceiuing that all others are? I meane not onely the king  
of Cochings subiects which came to succour vs, who haue  
repented themselves thereof, but also manye other of our  
friends, which in the beginning of these wars did also aide  
vs.

And farther, I am enformed by some, that they haue  
now offered their friendship vnto the king of Coching.  
Which thing, if it be true, it is for that they haue lost the  
hope they had of any victorie on our part, as well for that  
which is past, as also reputing how lyttle time there is  
now lefte of the Summer, and also for that in the Win-  
ter they cannot remayne anye time to continue in the  
fieldes, because of the great stormes and raine, which  
would then be.

And

And in the ende of the winter, then will there come the  
flote from Portingale, which will doe vs as much harme  
as the flote did the last yere, and so I shall neuer bee out of  
vnfortunate mischieses, but thus in the end I shall be vt-  
terly destroyed.

All this shall be that I shall gette, with the  
losse of the friendship of the Christians. And it is possible  
that for theyr causes the Pagodes will not aide nor helpe  
me as they haue done before time. For although you tell  
me, that they doe permit sometime their friendes to suffer  
persecution for their profit, do you not thinke the same also  
to happen for their offences, as it is well knowne this  
doth for mine. What then shall neede any further exhorta-  
tions, to cause me to doe as you would haue me, and to suf-  
fer persecution for my wealth, since I doe vnderstand what  
the same meaneth: and for the preseruing of mine estate, it  
is requisite and needfull to haue friendship with the  
Christians; if so be that you be also of the same minde,  
for that we are all equall in the losse, and also in the  
gaines.

God cha-  
sticeth me  
sometime  
for theye  
trial som-  
time for  
their of-  
fences.

For this talke of the kings, they were all sorrie that had  
giuen him counsell to go forthward in these wars, since that  
they perceiued that his intent was to leaue the same, and  
haue friendship with the Captaine Generall. These there-  
fore would forthwith haue aunswered, but the Prince Na-  
beadam bidde preuent them, who was sorrie for these  
warres commensed, and spake thus looking vpon them  
all:

Since the king doth aske vs counsell what is best to be  
done in this matter, which standeth him so much vpon,  
I as one that most of all am greued with this losse,  
and most desirous of his profite, will therefore be the  
first that shall shewe herein my minde, and what I doe  
thinke thereof. In that which you say, that oftentimes the  
Pagodes in the time of the persecutions that we do receiue,  
will

The Prin-  
ces Orati-  
on vnto  
the King  
& Nobles  
assembled

will commaund vs to doe that which they will haue vs,  
 so we ought to vnderstande them, although therefore in  
 these warres it appeareth that it goeth very euill with vs,  
 and in this they doe shew how much they are our friends,  
 truly I doe beleue the same, the rather for that we ought  
 not to beleue them that would haue a matter done with-  
 out reason, as it were to geue vs the victorie against those  
 Christians, and power to destroy the king of Coching, vn-  
 to whom we haue done very much hurt, killynge the latte  
 yeare his Wynces and almost all his men, setting of Co-  
 ching a fire, and destroying his countrey, from whence  
 we hunted him away, with his great discredite, dispossed  
 him of his kingdome & subiects, so that al they for the feare  
 they had of vs did leaue him, yea his owne friendes forsooke  
 him, & went against him, & all for our sake. And aboue all  
 these euils the which he did not deserue, for y he was not in  
 any fault, we would yet proceed further, vtterly to destroy  
 him. What hath he done? Did hee procure to take anye  
 mans countrey from him? No. In friendship did he vse  
 himselte traiterously? Neither. Did he commaunde the  
 Marchantes that they should not come to Calicut? Neither.  
 Did he the some worse thing since he did nothing of thesee  
 nothing at all. What then? Forsooth, for y he did receiue into  
 his countrey the Christians which being driuen out of Ca-  
 licut, went to seeke him out, as he was desirous to encrease  
 and enpeople his Citie, and to augment hys estate and ri-  
 ches: Shall we therefore destroy him being our friend, as  
 an enemy? With this right doe the Pagodes helpe vs to  
 take the honoz, riches and credite from the right owner. It  
 cannot be so, for that they be righteous and iust, and ther-  
 fore they will not help vs against those Christians which  
 were slayne, robbed, and thrust out of Calicut, and were  
 there receined vnder safeconduct from the king, comminge  
 to his porte before any others, and not geuing cause wher-  
 fore they should receiue so many iniuries. If wee doe it  
 for that they laide hande vpon a Shippe of the Moores,  
 there is no reason why, for that the king commaunded  
 them

them to stay the same: And if he had ben aduised by al men  
 as he was by me, the Moores should haue paid for that they  
 had done & that very well, for & if they had ben punished, it  
 wold wel haue appered, y the king had ben in no fault of y  
 which they had done. And this had bene sufficient to haue  
 confirmed the friendship of the Christians with him, & this  
 also would haue bene a cause sufficient, to haue kept them  
 in Calicut from going to Coching, to haue there setteled a  
 trade, whom the king through euill counsell hath frauay-  
 led so much to take them, as though they were thieues that  
 had robbed him of his owne, they being so good, so gentle,  
 so valiant as we see, and besides so gratefull of the bene-  
 fite they doe receiue. For the receiuing of them as y King  
 of Mylind did, they gaue ouer two ships laden with gold,  
 the which they had taken from a Cousin of his. If these  
 men were Thieues, as the Moores doe say they are, those  
 were prizes not to be left. You know how rich a Present  
 they brought to the King, and what rich merchandise they  
 brought, and how much golde and siluer. Those fishermen  
 which they did carrie away naked, did retourne againe all  
 apparailed. If then we were friends, how surely should we  
 liue: & what profit should the king haue, if we had amitie  
 with them. I do not speak of y ship y carried y Elephants  
 which was giuen him: when all y prizes did passe by these  
 thieues hands, the which they left. These were seruices to  
 be thankfully receiued, giuing occasion to vs to gratifie the  
 in like sort, and to be glad to haue them for our friends, &  
 since we did put them away when they had neede of vs,  
 now that we haue neede of them, let it not be thought euill,  
 to conclude a peace with them, for that the wars we make  
 against them, we make the same against our selues. They  
 are vpon the Sea of more power then we are, as you may  
 well see the same by the long time they haue defended this  
 passage, and with what power of men, and also what de-  
 struction they haue brought vpon vs, and are like to doe,  
 since that our Countrey lyeth nere to the water side, and  
 that with our owne losse, we haue well sene the truth.

Amongst  
 other ver-  
 tues grate-  
 fulnes co-  
 mended.

Do.

There.

Therefore let it go no further, but let vs seeke some remedie  
to haue a peace concluded amongst vs: for if we haue not, &  
port or harbour of Calicut wil be utterly vndone, & the king  
wil be like to lose all his rents. This doth concerne him  
more then al & friendship of & Moors, which haue no other  
respect but only to their owne profit, & not to the kings, &  
these be they that do giue spuncell to make these warres.

Howe the councell of the prince Nabeadaria vvas gainesaid, & howe  
a certain Moore of Calicut did inuent the making of certain castles  
of timber, vwith the which they might lay the caruels aboard. ca. 69

The king of Calicut all this while gaue great eare to  
which & prince his brother had said, & immediatly  
answered & he was in & fault, as touching & which  
was past, & had repented himselfe to haue taken &  
enterprize in hand. And therefore he desired them al, to enter  
into counsell with his brother, & to take some good order for  
concluding of peace wth vs: which was not wel thought of by  
the Lord of Repelin, for & he was confederate with & Moors  
to hinder & same, & after & the king had ended his talke, he  
spake in this manner following. According as & Malabars  
are constant, so I do well beleue, & fro hence forth they wil  
not haue thee in any reputation, if thou shuldest do as thou  
saist, for & they would impute & same rather to cowardnes,  
then to any reuelatio or forewarning of & Pagodes. This is  
a matter not wel to be thought of, much lesse the to be spoke  
of amongst persons of hono: as here are, & with so great a  
power, with hope of many more if there were need: for al &  
noble men of & Malabars are redy for & same, hauing great  
confidence in thy valiantnesse, & therefore did chosse thee to be  
head of this war. And now, wilt thou leaue & same without  
receiving any hurt in thy person, with & which thou might  
test excuse the same, not to die in thy demaund. But retur-  
ning whole, & with many of thine whole, what wil they say  
but & for & feare of so few strangers thou giuest ouer & thou  
hast begun wth so great a heat, & that thou runnest away not  
being overcome? With this thou shalt lose thy credit & thou  
haddst with all men, which since it is so, were thou not bet-  
ter die, then to liue dishonored? I maruel much & the prince  
did

The Lord  
of Repelin  
was au-  
serue to  
the prince  
in the cou-  
cill house.

did not consider this, which is & principal matter & he shuld  
make reckoning of, as one & both extreme thine hono:, & & do  
also esteeme & same, do not counsel & king to giue ouer the  
warres, although I should see & Pagodes command thee, for ra-  
ther death is to be wished, then such obedience. So forwarde  
therefore in these wars, for so & Pagodes wold haue thee do,  
& do not contrary vnto this aduise. The Moors & wer pre-  
sent hearing al this talk, which was to their content, did sur-  
ther & same as much as in the lay, setting forward & king,  
praising him to be inuincible, laing before him & infamy he  
shuld incur, if he did leaue & wars: they offered him more  
ner their persons & goods towards & same, alleading & in-  
creasing of his rents with their trade, plenty of victuals in  
his city with their being there, declaring also & old friend-  
ship they haue had with him, & how they were become na-  
turall inhabitants of his country, with many other things,  
vnto & which & king wold not answer, neither yet his bro-  
ther, for & al those kings & Lords did help & Moors aduise,  
& so it was concluded & the wars shuld go forward. And for  
& it had gone with & king so euill in & sword, they found a  
new inuention to lay the caruels a board, which a certeine  
Moore of Repelin made called Mogea, who had ben a tra-  
uailer, & scene sundry inuentions deuised. And for & cause ha-  
uing a pregnant wit, he inuented a castle to be made of tim-  
ber, built vpon two boats or lighters, placing two beames  
crossewise ouer & forepart of the said boats, & the sterne or  
pope of & boats to be as broad as & castle long, & which ca-  
stle was made square, & vpon those beams were other pla-  
ced, so high as a chamber from a hall, & in euery square were  
quarters of timber thick set together, of & height of a lance,  
or little lesse, mortased in & said beams, & nailed with great  
iron nails, & in & bodies of & quarters of timber wer holes  
made, through & which went bars of iron. so & to sight the  
castle seemed a strong thing. In this castle might 40. men  
be wel placed, besides certein peeces of ordinaunce, so that in  
this wise this castle might passe & riuers, & wth grapvls torn  
wth & caruels, which being doe & king desired & sight therof, &  
whē he had seen & same, did not only praise his wit, but also

The diffi-  
muling  
vvords of  
& Moors  
to & king.

rewarded him very largely, and by the same paterne commaunded other seauen to be made, that vpon them the Caruells might dispend their times, & occupie themselves, thinking that euen so it would be.

Of the great alteration there was in Coching, about these Castles, and what policie the Captaine found to defend the Caruell from them.  
Chap. 70.



Immediately after, was the Captaine generall aduertised by espies that he had sent of these castles, and that the enimies were also making in readinesse certain firewozkes, y<sup>t</sup> therewith they might burne y<sup>e</sup> caruells, & if they could not burne y<sup>e</sup> same, y<sup>e</sup> then with these castles, they might lay the said Caruel aboard: As soon as the dwellers & inhabitants of Coching heard of these castles, they were therewith grealy afeard, least y<sup>e</sup> the enimyes would take Coching, & with that did make themselves in a redinesse to flie from thence, for the which the king of Coching was very sad, supposing y<sup>e</sup> indeed with these Castles, his enimies would take his country from him. After this, certaine of the inhabitants of Coching went to y<sup>e</sup> Captaine generall, to aske him whether he was able with his caruells to defend himselfe from these castles. Wherevpon the Captaine answered & alkt of them, wherefore they demanded y<sup>e</sup> question, seeing y<sup>e</sup> they did well know, that from a greater power then this, he had made them flie with broken heads, & so he doubted not, but he would doe againe. With this answere, y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of Coching were fully satisfied, & so minded not to remoue themselves from thence, vntill such time the battell were fought. The Captaine general for to encourage them the more, commaunded besore them all to pitch a long staffe in the ground, the which was made shap at y<sup>e</sup> one end. The same amongst the Malabars is called Calucete, vpon y<sup>e</sup> which they do execute iustice of death: vnto the

A Calucete, and what the meaning thereof is.

poorest or vilest people of the country: insomuch y<sup>e</sup> if they say to a p<sup>r</sup>aire, Naire Caluete, they take the same for a greater reproch then any other. This Caluete being pitched on this sort, the Captaine generall did then sweare, to spit vpon the same the king of Calicut, if so be that he did fight with him, & so forthwith he commaunded in dispraise of the king of Calicut, y<sup>e</sup> all his men should say with a loud voice, Samurin Caluete. At this sight the inhabitants muerualled to see y<sup>e</sup> stoutnesse of y<sup>e</sup> Captaine, & so minded to remaine & keep the towne. But for all this, the Captaine Generall was inwardly moued in spirit, for feare y<sup>e</sup> indeed they would lay his caruells a board, & that for lacke of men. Howbeit y<sup>e</sup> better to defend them from y<sup>e</sup> same, he commanded to be made a certaine Camilo, y<sup>e</sup> which was made w<sup>th</sup> certaine masts of ships, ioyned the one to the other, & bound with great bolts and hoops of yron. These masts were of eight fathom of length, & as many of breadth, & were placed from y<sup>e</sup> Caruels a good stoness thow. And for y<sup>e</sup> the eb<sup>o</sup> nor yet the flood should carry y<sup>e</sup> same away, ther were laid out fire great ankors, three of them vpon the flood, & the other vpon the eb, y<sup>e</sup> made the same the surer. And for that the Caruels should remaine so high as y<sup>e</sup> castles, one Peter Ratall considering these deuises, deuised also to encounter with the height of those castles, to make certaine turrets of halfe masts, which were set vp right, and made fast a board the caruell, in the which turrets seuen or eight men might fight at plesure in each of them. This being done, one morning before day ther came to visit the Captaine general the king of Coching, of whose coming the Captaine was very glad, for y<sup>e</sup> he had heard how fearful he was, & therefore he gaue him a good countenance, yet for all this, the king could dissemble no longer, but presently his eyes did run downe with water, & with y<sup>e</sup> he embraced the Captaine general, & comanded those noble men y<sup>e</sup> came with him to do y<sup>e</sup> like, which was done with so sorrowfull a countenance, as though it were y<sup>e</sup> last time y<sup>e</sup> they should meet. Afterward y<sup>e</sup> king did apart himself with y<sup>e</sup> captaine & some of our men, & as a man out of his wits, said vnto him.

Do. iii.

The



The king  
of Co-  
ching  
vwordsto  
the Cap-  
taine ge-  
nerall.

The King of Calycut hath a great power, and we are but few, and that without any hope that I haue to defend Coching, or any of my people, who besides are ready to runne away if thou be overcome. And since that I am vndone, I request thee, that thou doe provide for thine owne safetie, whilst thou hast time, for that afterwards, I doubt thou shalt not haue the same: and therewith, as though he were stopped in the throte, he spake no more.

The aun-  
swer that  
the cap-  
tain gene-  
rall made  
to the  
King of  
Coching.

The Captaine generall shewing himselfe to be angrye with this speech, aunswered him somewhat with cholar, asking him what weaknesse or cowardnesse he had seene in him, that he should will him to provide for his safetie: And further said, that there or in what place soeuer he was, he was most assured to defend himselfe from the King of Calycut, and also doubted not but to giue him the overthrow,

„ notwithstanding the great power he brought. And diddest  
„ not thou tell me (quod he) all these times past, that God did  
„ fight for the Portugales, but now how dost thou doubt of  
„ the same? I haue a hope in God, that to morrow thou shalt  
„ see the King of Calycut put in that Caluete, and of this I  
„ doe not doubt, if he doe tarry me, neither yet thou oughtest  
„ to haue any doubt, if thou wouldest thinke vpon the victo-  
„ ries that God hath giuen me so oftentimes, the King of Ca-  
„ lycut hauing the same aduantage that now he hath. This  
„ thou oughtest to beleue, and not that which the Mores of  
„ Coching do tell thee, for y they all doe not loue vs, neither  
„ yet the alteration of the Payres should make thee apalde,  
„ which are asfeard of euery puffe of winde. Repent thy selfe  
„ therefore of that thou hast told me, and dispaire not, but re-  
„ turne with good courage to Coching, and there also to com-  
„ fort and harten thy people, shew thy selfe strengthened, &  
„ stay thy subiects from going away, and let me alone with  
„ this Wallage, for I will giue thee a good accompt thereof.

„ The King minding not to encrease his cholar, did shew  
himselfe recomforted with his words and comfortable an-  
swers, trusting that we would defend the Wallage, accord-  
ing to the valyaunt mindes he had sounde in vs, and in  
our

our Captaine generall: which he did affirme without any doubt of the defence thereof. The Payres, and all the people of Coching, vpon their alteration and determination, they made for their departing, beleauing yet that our men should be overthrowen, did therevpon prouoke the Mores to runne away, but yet neuerthelesse they would not.

¶ How the King of Calycut did giue the Battaile vnto the Captaine generall with his castells, & how they were all overthrowen. cap. 71.



The King of Coching being departed, the Captaine generall went to his Caruell, shewing himselfe grieued greatly, to see the King so faint hearted, the which might be the occasion that Coching might be disinhabited, which he feared very much: and

being desirous to suppe with his men, thether came Lorenzo Moreno, with those of the Factorie, with whom he was accustomed to come, for (as I haue said) there was neuer any found in the battel of our men, that the enemies could overcome: The Supper being done, they went to rest themselves till midnight, and being confessed and absolved by the Vicar, the Captaine generall said vnto them.

Masters and my friends, I am very merie & glad that you doe remember the principall thing, which is your soules, for that I doe well knowe, that with this remembrance God will haue vs in his high & glorious memorie, to giue vs the victory against our enemies, not onely for the satisfaction of our troubles, but also for the increasing of his holy and Catholike faith, and that the King of Coching and his people might vnderstand, that our God is a true God, and mightie aboue all mighties, and that he doeth not sayle those which doe put their confidence and trust in his name. As for the King of Coching, you did well see him yesterdaie howe sadde and heauie  
and

The Cap-  
tain gene-  
rals Orati-  
on to his  
company



„ and without hope he went away distressed in the blis-  
 „ ry, which God I doubt not hath promised vs making safe  
 „ account, that we were all lost, and utterly cast away, yet  
 „ swading me withall, that I shuld in time prouide for mine  
 „ owne safetie. Surely I did neuer finde in him so much  
 „ feare, nor yet so great cowardhelle, the occasion therof was,  
 „ that they heard that the power of the king of Calicut was  
 „ much greater then it was before. And although it were so  
 „ great as they doe thinke, yet farre greater without al com-  
 „ parison is our God, and that haue you well seene in the  
 „ helps past that he hath sent vs, and euen so now do I hope  
 „ that he will likewise helpe vs and send vs the victorie.  
 „ And with this hope let vs assuredly trust to ouercome the  
 „ enimies, for he will maintaine the honour that wee haue  
 „ gotten, and from hence forth will so encrease the same, that  
 „ we shoulde remaine in this worlde for lightes of valiaunt  
 „ men, and for the same be so feared in the Indias, that nei-  
 „ ther the king of Calicut nor any else will dare set vpon vs:  
 „ and the honour being gotten, we shall be assured of rest for  
 „ the troubles we haue had.

Me make  
warres to  
the intent  
to liue in  
peace.

As he had ended they sayd all, that without the victorie  
 they would not liue. And at this time which was two  
 houres after midnight, some of the Ordinaunce of the flete  
 of the king of Calicut beganne to discharge, making theyr  
 way towards the Captaine Generall: and the king him-  
 selfe went by land, being accompanied with more then thir-  
 tie thousand men, with his field peeces, as his vse was, and  
 with great hope y he should giue vs the ouerthrow, & with  
 this double pride, much more then he euer had, he came for-  
 ward. The Lord of Repelyn marched before with certeine  
 men that should make rampyres of earth in the point of  
 Arrab, for a defence for our enimies in the battell.  
 He brought with him great noises & cries, with great plea-  
 sure and dauncing, the which the Captaine generall didde  
 heare, and went verie secretly a lande, and placed himselfe  
 in the very point where the enimies shuld come, the which  
 he

he did defend that the enimies should not make there any  
 rampyers, about the which our men killed some of them.  
 This being knowne to the king of Calicut, that the Cap-  
 taine Generall came thither to meete with him, hee com-  
 maunded his souldiers with a stout stomacke to set vpon  
 him and take him aliue, the better to reuenge himselfe on  
 him at his pleasure. About this there was a great skirmish  
 and many of the enimies were slaine without taking of  
 the Captaine Generall, neither yet could they make theyr  
 rampiers. As the morning came on which was the Ascen-  
 tion day, the other flete did appeare, y which was not far  
 off, and by this, the Captaine generall was retired vnto his  
 boates, but it was with great trouble, because of the great  
 multitude of the enimies which came vpon him: howbeit  
 he unbarked both himselfe and his men without lacking a-  
 ny of them, but there were of the enimies many slaine and  
 hurt. The point being now clere & unfurnished, the eni-  
 mies came and placed themselves there, and then they be-  
 gan to shote off their Ordinaunce at vs, to the which wee  
 did aunswere with ours, doing them great hurt therewith,  
 for that all our shot went amongst the enimies, where they  
 lay open, and our men were well fenced, therefore their or-  
 dinaunce could doe vs no hurt. The king of Calicut seeing  
 this, sent word to his flete that they should rowe a pace,  
 and come to helpe and deliuer him from the daunger and  
 feare that our men did put him in. The flete being come,  
 it was a fearefull sight to beholde them, for that there was  
 driuen before them certeine rasses, the which went alwaies  
 burning, with intent to set the Caruells on fire, and after  
 them an hundred and ten Paraos full of men & ordinaunce, &  
 many of them chained together, and after them a hundred  
 Catures in the same manner, and foure score Tonis de cox-  
 ia ancha, and in each of them thirtie men, besides theyr or-  
 dinaunce, and the eight castles in keeping of these, the which  
 stode hard by the point, for that the ebbe was not as yet  
 altogether entered. The enimies came with great clamor,  
 making great laromes and cries, and plaieng vpon instru-  
 ments,

The king  
of Cali-  
cut being  
in danger  
sendeth  
for succor  
to the  
rest of his  
flecte.

ments accounting vs as overcome already, and with this, they shot off so many peeces of Ordnance as it was wonderfull to see, and with their sagots which they brought before them burning, they drew very nere to the Canizo, which was placed before the Caruells, and therefore they could not come to set the Caruells a fire, neither any other of all the flete. Wherefore, all those that went before, did loyne with the Canizo, and therewith did give vs battaile, & without all doubt they had closed with vs at this time, if this defence had not bene. In this sodaine fight which was very great, the battell endured a good while, untill such time the ebbe came on, and at this time the enemies received great hurt, not onely in their Fregates that were torne in peeces and sunke, but also many of their men that were slaine and hurte. The Ebbe being come, the Paraos with their Castles did put off from the poynt, and to the ende they should goe the swifter, they were rowed with boats. These came right towards the Caruells, and in the greatest of them all went fortie fighting men, and in the other of the middle sort in each of them fife and thirtie, and in the lesser sort thirtie men. All these were botwomen & shot, and besides that they did carrie Ordnance, and stode all aboard, which did shewe so terrible and monstrous a front, as was fearful to be seene, the rather being so great a flete, in comparison of our small power to defend them, we having but two Caruells & two boats. But this was y day wherein God did well shew, the great regard he had to preserve vs, for that neither the sight of so many men, and so many sorts of wayes whereby they had compassed and beset vs, neither yet such a flete, that was so great and mightye, with the fearefull cryes that the Enemies did make, nor the terrible thundering of the Ordnance, could any wayes discourage or make vs askeard. The greater of the Castles being come hard to this defence, did then shote off all his ordnance at the Caruells, & the Captaine generall commaunded to shote at the same with a Saker, the which caused the said Castle to stand wavering, but yet did them

them little harme, neither yet with another pece that they shot off forthwith, with the which Captaine generall was so sad, that he lifted up his eyes unto heauen, saying: Lord, doe not retourne my sinnes to my face at this time, and this he said with such a loude voyce, that some there were that heard the same. In the meane while came the other Paraos, which did set themselves right equal with the first, & with the coming of these, the battell did increase more and more very stoutly on all parts. Their arrowes came so thicke, which made so great a shadow, that sometimes ther appeared neither heauen nor earth, with y great smoke of their Ordnance. The Captaine generall did terne, and commaund to shote at the great Castle the Saker againe, & as with y other shot past, they had somewhat shaken their yron works which were not very strong, so with the same shot they presently brake, & after y the yron works were thus broken, some of their beams being likewise carried away, with certeine of their men slaine, with y same our men gaue a great cry, & the Captaine general falling down on his knees, gaue God great thanks, & returning to shote the Saker againe, did carrie away another row of beams, with many more slaine and hurt, and the Ordnance being shotte off againe, it was all torne in peeces in a small space, and so the enemies went with their Castle further off, but the others remayned there fighting very stoutly. And after this, both parts endured more trouble all the day following, then in all the battells that were past: but in the ende, we did so much hurt unto their Castles, and sunke and rent so many of their Paraos in peeces, y the enemies could not abide the same, & therefore they shrank thence. The fight did endure till euensong time, & began in y morning: of the enemies wer many slaine, as after ward was seene in y water, & of vs none, nor any hurt, but only bruised with a shot which went through y Admiral, y bullet went among many that were there, but they received no harme.

The Captaine generall seeing the enemies went their waye, followed them in their Boates, and such paraos  
pp. ij. as

The prayer of a distressed minde in the bitter nesse of heart.

as he had, shooting alwayes at those that were vpon the point Ariall, with the king, and with the force of their Ordnance made them runne away, leauing behinde them slaine three hundred and thirtie men. This being done, he then returned to his Caruells, where that euening came to visit him the Prince of Coching in the behalfe of the king, who sent to excuse himselfe that he could not come to visit him in his owne person. But he sent him againe word, that he wold receiue no discharge, vntill such time he knew his heuines was past, but praised him fro hence forth to beleue better in God, for that the dangerous daye of the Castles was past, and he remained in the passage as he did before, all safe, and in readinesse to serue him. The selfe same daie came to visit him certeine noble men, of those that were of the king of Cochings side, with whome there was made great triumph for this victorie: and likewise there went to see him many Moyses Merchants which brought him great presents, supposing to get of him thereby great friendship. He receiued them very gently, praieng them to be true subjects to the king of Coching, for thereby they should finde him assured at any time whensoever he might stand them in any neede, whereupon they faithfully promised so to do, & to binde them the more, he made them very great chere. Also the next day in the morning the king of Coching came to visit him, who imbraced him with as great gladnesse as could be deuised, saieing that he did wel performe y<sup>e</sup> which he had promised, in giuing the king of Calycut the ouerthrowe. But vnto this he answered, that he had not performed all his promise, since that he did not put him on the Caluete, but he was not in fault thereof, for that the king kept himselfe alwayes farre from him. He declared also to the king diuerse other matters of pleasure, which the king answered in like manner, praisiing very much his valiantnes, & that he had wel sene y<sup>e</sup> God did fight for vs, asking of him forgiveness for y<sup>e</sup> distrust he had in him, & how greatly he was bound to succour him, declaring also that the affaires of Portugale were very great, and confessing lyke-  
wise

wise that he through his worthinesse had made him king. After this victorie the inhabitants of Coching did cast off the feare they had of the king of Calycut, in such sort, that neuer from thence forth they stood in anye dread of him, neither yet made account of his habilitie.

Of the counsell which the king of Calycut tooke of his brother, and how hee was gaine-faide: and also by what pollicie & meanes the king of Calycut sought to kill the Captaine generall. Chap. 72.



The king remained greatly ashamed and very sad, for that at the same time he could not ouerthrowe the Captaine Generall, the rather because he neuer accounted any thing more certeine, then to ouer come him in that conflict, because of the Castles which he had prepared for his confusion. And now leauing a side all hope euer to haue the victorie, he desired to haue with vs no more warres, and therefore he called before him into his tents, all those kings and noble men that came to helpe him, and sayd thus vnto them.

Y<sup>e</sup> doe well see how little our power profiteth vs against these men, and how little our pollicies preuaileth since they doe not regard vs, and would neuer giue ouer the passage, notwithstanding the greate power we had against them. The like account also they make of vs in their feasts, and pastimes when we goe against them, as though we were the feiner, and they the more, and as though the land which they are in were theirs, & we were the Christians, whereby it appeareth, they alwayes make account of the victorie for certeine, which either they obtaine by witchcrafts, or else their God doth fight for them, which cannot be otherwise, considering the great victories they haue had  
pp.iii. against

The king of Calicut's oration vnto his noble men.

„ against vs, and the greates hurt that we haue receiued of  
 „ them. Wherefore I suppose that God would it should be so,  
 „ for the litle iustice y is obserued in these wars, as hath wel  
 „ appered in the beginning of the same. And if I had ben wel  
 „ aduised, it shuld not haue gone so farre sozward, but in the  
 „ end I am in the fault, and not they, and since it is so, we  
 „ haue therein no right cause, neither canne gette any thing  
 „ by our strength. Let vs therfore giue it ouer, & desire no moze  
 „ to haue Coching, for that God doth fauour these men, since  
 „ wel you se, there is no power in the Indias that can offend  
 „ vs so long, we being so strong, but these dogs, of whom I  
 „ am afraid, y they will subdue the Indias, according to the  
 „ acts that they haue done, and the credit that they haue got-  
 „ ten, especially in Malabar. And that this mishap may go no  
 „ further, I thinke it shoulde be conuenient to procure theyr  
 „ friendship, & also it is time to get vs away, for y the winter  
 „ commeth on, & the riuers doe increase, & these men do ouer-  
 „ run all: and this is certaine, y if the wars indure, they will  
 „ come hether & inforce vs to depart with our losse & disho-  
 „ nor. Now y first that he asked counsell of what was neces-  
 „ sary to be done, was his brother Nabeadarin, who being an-  
 „ gry with the king that he wold neuer follow his counsel, &  
 „ leaue the warres, saide: that now he knelwe to his cost  
 „ what he had told him of vs: & since in time he woulde not  
 „ know it, he asked him what it shuld now profit him for his  
 „ honour and credit, since y then when opportunitie serued he  
 „ refused his counsell, but now he willed him to do what he  
 „ shuld thinke good, for he could not do amisse. The king be-  
 „ ing somewhat broken of his pride, (calling him brother) saide  
 „ that now there was no time to aunswere him after such  
 „ sort, but to tell him his opinion what he thought best. The  
 „ prince answered y we were venterous, & alwaies remained  
 „ so assured of the victozy, vpon our experienced strength and  
 „ good fortune, albeit our power were much lesse, so y he great-  
 „ ly doubted we woulde none of his friendship. And for the to  
 „ offer y same, saide he to y king, & they to refuse it, wold be no  
 „ lesse dishonoz vnto the, then the often ouerthrowes y thou  
 „ hast

The con-  
 sell that  
 the king  
 of Cali-  
 cuts bro-  
 ther gaue  
 him touch

hast receiued. And since by thy profered friendship, we can-  
 not get so much as we should wis if they refuse y same, it  
 were best therfore not to procure it, but to deser it, & make  
 peace with the Captaine general that commeth y next yere  
 from Portingale, who considering howe little the wars  
 will profit him, & not being assured of good successe therein,  
 will be the gladder to make peace with the, & therfore that  
 it may not be thought that we run awaye for seare, let vs  
 stay & not depart, vntill such time it shuld be thought, that y  
 necessitie of the winter did inforce vs hence, & then may we  
 wel talke of peace, when possible the Captaine general wil  
 willingly accept the same, doubting that his good fortune  
 may chaunge. And to prouoke & giue occasion the rather to  
 haue his friendship, let vs giue him no moze battels in the  
 meane time, since it serueth to no purpose, but to the great  
 losse and confusion of our men.

This counsell of Nabeadarin was reprobued by the  
 kings and noble men which were there then assembled, &  
 especially of the Lord of Repelyn, which said that the king  
 ought not to goe awaye, neither for the greatnesse of the  
 winter that shoulde come, nor yet for the losse of his men,  
 but rather to continue, giuing vs manye battailes, vntill  
 such time he did take vs, and not onely procured the de-  
 struction of vs in Coching, but also of those that were in  
 Cananor and Coulan. And that immediarly it were expedi-  
 ent they sent men of credit with letters to affirme, that they  
 had boarded our Caruells with their Castles, and had also  
 slaine vs all, and taken our sayd Caruells, and therfore  
 that they shoulde kill all those that were there, as they had  
 promised. To the same effect therfore the king did writte  
 immediatly and the Mozes also, but there was no credite  
 giuen to the same, for that there was other newes sent  
 befoze, and therfore the last was taken for false. Neuer-  
 thelesse for all that, by the industry of the Mozes the which  
 did dwel in those two towne, our men were in great dan-  
 ger, and durst not come out of theyr factories, and in  
 Coulan there was one slaine, but in the other places none,

ing the  
 making  
 of peace  
 with the  
 captaine  
 generall.

A subtile  
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 but it toke  
 no effect

for afterward messengers were sent from Calycut to the Gentiles, that our men were alive, and what wee had done. For which cause the king of Calycut was answered that they would not kill our men, untill such time the Captaine Generall was taken, and that he had first given him the overthowe, which being done, they would conclude with him. This being come to the knowledge of the Lorde of Repelyn, both he and the Mozes did perswade the king to fight another battell with the Captaine Generall, the which he would willingly not haue done, for that he was wearyed in his spirit, but he could not withstand them, and therefore commaunded the same to be given both by Sea and lande. But in it he had lyke successe as before, so that more throughe the importunate desire of the Mozes then of his owne will, he gaue in his owne person another battell with his Castles, with many more men and vessells then in the other before. This battell endured longer then the other, in which also the enimyes were overcome, and received farre greater losse then euer they did before. With this victorie that we had gotten, the inhabitants of Coching remained sure from all their enimies, and so likewise did the king, whom afterward came to visite the Captaine generall, being brought in a chaire, with farre greater estate then euer he came before, since the first beginning of all the warres. This being knowne in the campe of the enimies, the kings and noble men that were with the king of Calicut, took occasion to say vnto him that he shoulde not consent, in especially hauing such a greate power as he hadde there present, that the king of Coching should haue him in so small reputation, as thereby to iudge himselfe free from him, & out of his danger. To the which the king of Calicut made answer, y the king of Coching had great reason to do that which he had done, in especially knowing his greate power and camp, and yet perceiuing that he could not giue him the overthowe. And since that his euill fortune was such, he desired them not to wish him to go forward in these wars, for that he knewe well and was fully perswa-

ded,

ded, that continuing the same, he shoulde alwayes receiue the losse, and run daily into greater danger, as by the feare thereof it was apparaunt. And therefore he requested them all to let him alone by himselfe, who so being, did imagine againe what course he might best take to reuenge himselfe.

And after that he came aboard, he called for certeine of his payres, in whom he had reposed all his trust, commanding them to go to Coching with some dissimulation, and there to trauaile all that they could to kill the Captaine general, and all such of our men as they could make withall. And as the paires are men inconstant, and cannot keepe counsel longer then they are bethinking themselves therof, therefore immediately their intent was knowne to the Captaine general, who from thence forward had a better regard to himselfe, and vnto the rest of his companye then he had before. And the better to take those paires which came as spies thither, he appointed ther vnto two companies of y paires of Coching, commanding the one to keepe diligently a long the foord, and the other a long the riuer, who watched by quarters both by day and night. Whilist this diligence was vied, the Captaine Generall had knowledge that this spy was a paire of Coching, and of the house of Locke of the Leeros, who had attendant vppon him certeine payres that were straungers, which appeared to be lyke those of Calicut.

As we hauing certeine knowlege hereof, he so handled the matter, and in such order, that forthwith hee took them all prisoners, and being brought before him, he commaunded them to be cruelly whipped in the presence of those paires of Coching, and afterwarde to be hanged. The inhabitants of Coching seeing this, requested the Captaine Generall to giue them some other punishment since that they were payres, and not to shewe them so great extremitie, but notwithstanding hee wold not graunt vnto anye other punishment, for that they had deserued the same.

Dq.

Then

An answer  
fvere  
which y  
king of  
Calicut  
made vn-  
to certein  
noble me

The Orati  
on of cer-  
taine cap-  
tains vnto  
their gene-  
rall for his  
better ad-  
uise in ad-  
ministrati-  
on of iu-  
stice.

Then all his Captaines sayde vnto him, that first and befoze all he should call to remembraunce, the greates troubles that the king of Coching hadde sustainede for the onely maintaininge of them, and also howe much it woulde grieue him to heare saye, that such were hanged in his Countre without his consent.

Also, if woulde giue occasion for such noble men as were with him, to saye that he is a king but for a while, since that his iurisdiction is now taken from him.

And forasmuch as hether to he had vsed him alwayes with reuerence, they wished that now at the ende he woulde haue him in a greater estimation then euer hee hadde befoze.

The Captaine Generall hauing considered theyre reasons, did allowe of theyre good counsell herein, and caused those paires to be sent for, that were gone to execution, of the which there were two halfe dead, but those that were liuing hee sent to the king of Coching, aduertising him how that they hadde deserued death, and also the cause why hee hadde not commaunded them to bee hanged.

The king hearing this, toke the same in greates honour and estimation, that they were sent him, and especiall for that there were present sundrye of the noble men of his Countre, and of other places, yea, and Mozes also, of the chiefest that dwelt in Coching, which did not lette to saye vnto the king to asurunt him withall, that our men were they that commaunded and did not obeie.

But from hence forth the Captaine Generall

hadde such intelligence, that the subtile

dealinges of the king of Ca-

lycut, toke very small

effect against

him.

How

How the king of Calicut of pure heauinesse for the ill successe he had in the warres, did put himselfe into a Torcull, and within a small time after came forth therof. chap. 73.



One being now ended, and the winter beginning to increase, the Captaine generall thought that it woulde be some cause that the king of Calicut would not tarrie there long. And therefore he was fully minded to set vpon him at the removing of his camp, for that by experience he knew the small valour of his enemies, by such victories as he had gotten in times past, which did therefore animate him the more therevnto, thinking that at such a time he might doe him much harme. And being in a readinesse to vncloine his Passes, he was presently informed that the king of Calicut was reforming a new his Castles, and preparing in a readinesse a greater flate then euer he had befoze, that hee might giue him therewith once more the battaile. This was but a fleeing newes that was commaunded to be giuen out by the king of Calicut, who did surmise that at the raising of his Campe, which hee was minded to doe, and to goe his waye, the Captaine Generall woulde sette vpon him.

And therefore hee determined, that his departure should be so secretly done, that no man should knowe thereof but onely Nabecadin. For this cause therefore he gaue out, that hee woulde giue the battaile in the passage of Palurte, and also in the fowde both together, to the ende the Captaine Generall might occupie himselfe in defending them both, and hee himselfe the better steale awaye, as hee didde: but hee gotte nothing thereby, more then hee hadde gotten befoze.

Dq. ii.

After

A false alarme  
gine  
forth by  
Calicuti-  
ans to ter-  
rifie the  
Portin-  
gals with  
all.



After all this, on Saturday in the Evening, which was Saint Johns euen, on which day they gaue out, that they would give the battaile, there appeared the whole army of the enimies as they were accustomed to shew themselves. The Captaine Generall hoping of theyr coming, did tarre there all that night, but in the morning he saw no likelihood thereof, and meruailing what that shoulde meane, was informed by two Bramenes that the king of Calycut was gone with his whole power vnto Repelyn, and that at that present he was there.

For this newes he was very sorrie, but yet for all that he entered that present daye into Repelyn, where he fought with many of his enimies, slew and hurt a great number, and so returned to the passage, where he remained yet certeine dayes to ensure Coching the better, which was yet afraid of the king of Calycuts returning, fearing that he would not leaue this passage. Howbeit the Captaine Generall was well assured that he would not come there, by reason he was fallen into such reproch and shame, in the sight of all men, because of his great losses. So that immediatly after that he had past the riuers of Repelyn, he apparred himselfe with his noble men which had accompanied him in these warres, and said vnto them with weeping eyes in this manner following.

the kings  
Oration,  
made to  
such prin-  
ces & no-  
ble me as  
came to  
aide him  
in these  
warres,

**F**OR a man that is without shame, as I am, it is not much to shedde these teares as I doe, the heauinesse of my losse being such, as fetcheth the same from my hearte, with the which I am so troubled, that since it is so, that I cannot doe it in publike sorte, I will goe into some place where I may do the same without any body that may see mee. I haue also another grieve which troubleth mee very sore, ouer and besides my dishonour, which is, for that I am not able to rewarde you for all the great good will and seruice you haue done mee in these warres, the which I take for so great a dutye, that it so be that I might see my selfe discharged of the same, I should bee

better contented, then with the getting of Coching. But, since it is not Gods pleasure that I shoulde get the vice, rie ouer it, which hath procured my dishonour, so is it not his pleasure and will that I possesse the state of a king any longer, but rather for the amending of my sinnes will ende my lyfe in this Torcull, where I meane to continue vntill such time that God hath taken awaye this hatred, which he hath conceiued against mee. And from this time forward you may dispose of your selues, and do what you shall thinke best with my countrie and subiectes. I doe not offer you my person, forsomuch as being a man so unfortunate as I am, it shall not stand with your credite to require his companye, and with this speech he ended his talke.

But the Princes and Noble men woulde somewhat haue comforted him, and withdraue him from this his determination, but it could not preuaile, for that he had fully bent himselfe to the contrary, and so with certeine of his Chaplaines he entered into this Torcull.

Now his mother hauing knowledge that he was there, she sent him word, that for this his sodaine determination she remained as heauie and with as sorrowfull a heart as might bee. Informing him moreover, that through this sodaine chaunce, there hath risen in Calycut a great alteration, for that from thence are gone and now are ready to go many & sundrie merchants, and also that the citie is become wonderfully vnprouided of victualls, with the great feare the inhabitants are in of the Christians: which is the occasion ther are no victualls brought thether. But no perfwasion she sayd, could withdraue him from these wars with the Christians, which from the beginning of the same was a great grieve vnto her: willing him also that in no case he shoulde returne vnto Calycut, vntill he might doe the same with his credit, which was cleane lost already. And therefore she counsailed him a while to forbear, vntill such time he did recouer it againe, and that with victorie, yea, rather to lose all then to returne without it.

A Torcull  
is as much  
as with vs  
an hermitage, or  
such lyke  
pore kind  
of solitary  
religious  
place

The Mothers  
message to  
King of  
Calycut,  
being in  
the Tor-  
cull.

Where cre-  
dit is im-  
paired, it  
is better  
to lurke  
then to  
runne a-  
broad  
with dis-  
honour,

With this message the Kings heavinesse increased greatly, and he sent immediatly for his Brother, to whome being come, he gaue him charge of the government of his kingdome. But after that he came out of the foresaid Toccull, it was restozed vnto him againe.

¶ How there came sundry Kings & Princes of the Countrey to demaund peace of the Captaine generall: & also how there came vnto Coching many Moores of Calycut, to inhabite there.  
Chap. 74.



**A**Ll these Kings and Noble men, which came to serue y<sup>e</sup> king of Calicut (after that he had placed himselfe in the Toccull) remained a few dayes in Repelyn, tarrieng to see whether he did repent himselfe of that which he had done, or not: and perceiuing y<sup>e</sup> contrary, each of them

repaired toward their Countreyes, whereof the most part of them laye there along the water side. And sozomuch as the Winter began to increase, and they fearing least the Captaine generall would ouercome them all, hauing now lost the hope they had to defend themselves now as before time. Wherefore they minded to procure as much as they could, to be friends and in peace with the Captaine generall. For the which intent as Mediatour for the same purpose, they sent to the King of Coching, whom for that his condition and nature was very good, & without calling to remembrance the iniuries that were past, which they had done vnto him, did undertake to do the same. Sending them immediatly a safeconduct for their safe comming vnto Coching, from whence he went in their company to visite the Captaine generall, whom at their meeting, he earnestly requested

the goodnes of the King of Cochings nature noted in being a meane to procure

quested to receiue them as his friendes, who aunsw<sup>ered</sup> peace for that for his sake he would so doe. Diuers other Princes his enimies, also there were, that coulde not come, but yet notwithstanding they sent vnto him their Embassadours to conclude this peace likewise. Also sundry Moores of Calycut that were great Merchants, to the ende they might quietly vse their trade, forsooke Calycut, & came to dwell at Coching, with the consent of the Captaine generall. Others there were that went to Cananor and Coulan, so that the great Trade that was before in Calycut began sodainly to fall. And soz that the Moores of Calycut began in this sorte to inhabite in Coching, therefore the Captaine generall wold not leaue this passage, as also soz that there came manye & sundry times Paraos from Calycut into the riuers to keep the same, by Nabeadarins commaundement. Wherebeit the Captaine generall met with them and fought with them, and hurt many of his enimies. Moreover, he oftentimes entered into the Lord of Repelyns Countrey to take Castell for his propoision, & fought with many of his enimies, vpon whom he made great slaughter. One daye by chaunce our men met with certaine Tones of the enimies, the which were in a certaine standing water, and carried them away into the riuers, and made with the enimies a valyant and stout skirmish, in the which was slaine the greatest parte of them, and not one of our men hurt.

After all this, the Lord of Repelyn became the Captaine generalls friende, and came to visite him, and brought him for a present a great quantitie of Pepper, which he had in his Countrey.

The Lord of Repelyn, is also reconciled vnto the captaine generall.

¶ How Lope Suares de Menesis departed for the Indias for captaine generall of the Fleete that went in the yeare of our Lorde, a 1504. and what more past or euer he came to Anfadina.  
cap. 75.

1504.

The fift  
voiage to  
the Indi-  
as made  
by P. r-  
tingales



In the yeare of our Lorde. 1504. the king of Portugale hauing certeine knowledge, that the king of Calycut continued as yet in the warres, did therfore send to succour our men with a flete of twelue great shippes, and appointed for Generall of the same, a Gentleman called Lope Suares de Menesis, who in the time of king Don Iohn the second, had bene Captaine in the Mina. The Captaines of the flet were these follow-  
ing.

Pedro de Mendosa, Lionel Cotinuo, Tristim de la Sil-  
ua, Lope Mendus, de Vascon Cele, Lope de Abreo, Phi-  
lipo de Castro, Alonso Lopes de Castro, Alonso Lopes de  
la Costa, Pero Alonso, de Aguyar, Vasco de la Siluero,  
Vasco Caruallo, Pedro Dynes de Sutunell. All these were  
Gentlemen borne, and some were made Gentlemen by  
seruice. These also carryed with them many valiant sol-  
diers, who being imbarked, and the Captaine Generall dis-  
patched, did depart from Lisbonne the .xxii. of Aprill in the  
selfe same yeare, and continuing theyr voiage on the second  
day of May, they found themselves right in their course to  
Cape Verde. Then y Captaine generall hauing here all y  
flete together, caused his Captaines, Maisters, and Pi-  
lots, to assemble themselves, vnto whome he spake in sence  
following. Willing them to call to remembraunce howe  
lately they had departed from Portugale, for which cause  
it was requisite that they were circumspect and diligent, and  
not to fall into such disorders and extremities as hetherto  
they haue done, for not looking every man vnto his charge,  
and not to suffer one ship leue the other a boorde, as they  
haue done already, whereby they ranne all into greate  
daunger. Also there were others he said, that had no regard  
to keepe theyr right course, but vnadvisedly there were some  
that would go before, and others come after, and others by  
the winde, by meanes of which disorder they might haue  
cast

The Cap-  
tain gene-  
rals orati-  
on which  
he made  
to his cap-  
taines, ma-  
isters and  
Pilots.

cast away themselves. And the better to auoid these daun-  
gers, and to keepe the flete in good order, he did set downe  
certaine rules in wyting by his Scriuenor, and armed  
therevnto his name, with the names of the other Cap-  
taines, which they should obserue and keepe.

Inprimis, That all the flete, as sone as it is night, shall follow his course, remaining alwayes a sterne the Ge-  
nerall: and that no ship shall carry other light, then onely  
that which is in the Wytoke, and within the Captaines  
cabin. Also, that the Maisters and Pilots keep their watch,  
and that they haue a good regard, that one ship doe not lay  
the other a boord, and that they do all anns were, when the  
Admirall doth make any signe.

Item, That as sone as it is day, they doe come and sa-  
lute their Generall, and that in the night they doe not go  
before him. He that doeth not obserue these commaunde-  
ments, shall paye ten Crownes, and be kept in prison, vntil  
they arrive there, and that without wages. And for  
that there was some Maisters and Pilots very neglygent,  
by whose default one ship did lay the other a boord, he com-  
maunded to remoue them from one ship to another: and  
by this diligence that was thus vsed, every man had a re-  
gard therevnto, and the flete went in good order, & neuer  
after ranne in any daunger. Thus going on their course in  
the month of June, and iudging themselves ouer against  
the Cape Buena spuransa, there fell vpon them a meruai-  
lous great storme of winde, with the which all the flete  
ranne two dayes and two nights without sayles, so y they  
were in great daunger to haue bene all cast away, the we-  
ther being so darke and close, that it seemed rather night,  
then day.

These two dayes being past, they saw certaine signes  
of lande, the which as it did appeare, could not bee farre  
off, and for that cause was the weather so close. After that  
they had discryed y same, & were come nere ther vnto, then  
these signes appeared the greater. And therefore the Cap-  
taine generall commaunded, that out of his shippe there

Mr.

should

Orders  
that were  
giuen to  
euery cap-  
tain, Ma-  
ister and  
Pilot, to  
keepe the  
same in  
their voy-  
age.

The pe-  
nalty laid  
vpon the  
breach of  
these co-  
maunde-  
ments.

should be shot two peeces of Ordnance, that the others might after the same manner aunf were with the like, and the better keepe companie the one with the other. This storme being past, they founde missing the ship of Lope Mendez. And the Captaine generall seeing that he hadde lost the sight thereof did not let to goe forwarde on his course.

And so, within certaine dayes through the neglygence of the Officers, one shippe layde the other a boorde, and gaue therewith so great a blow vpon the bow of y other, that with the same there was opened so great a hole, that they might see through the shippe verve well, by the which hole therz entered such aboundance of water vpon a sodayne, that she was almost sunke. The Captaine generall bare with the same shippe immediately, and came so nere them that they might well heare him, and the great comfozte he gaue them, willyng them not to bee a fearde, but to goe forwarde in stopping the leake, without feare to be lost, for that he was there to succour them with his men, which he did sende in his Boats not fearing the Seas, that went so high, nor the daunger that they were in.

And for all that the Mariners of the ship did so work, that oz ever it was night the leake was halfe stopped: yet that they might end y rest that remayned to doe, the Captaine generall commaunded to be made a sign by the same shippe, that the other Captaynes might come and succour him, if there were any such neede. The wether being y next daye somewhat calme, the leake was wholly ended, the which was stopped with certaine hides nayled therevnto, and pitched vpon.

This daunger being past, without anye other mischaunce, wozth the wyting, they arriued at Monsambique on Saynt Iames daye, where the Gouvernour receined him verve well, and sent him great refreshing of fresh victualls, and the Letter that Pedro de Tayde had

lette

lette there for him befoze hee dyed, as I haue sayd before.

Who vnderstanding by the same, of the warres that the King of Calycut had begunne agaynst our men, didde as soone as the shippe was rigged, and made in a readynesse, which they had brought a grounde for the same purpose, he departed towarde Mylynde, being the first of August. And immediatly after his arrivall there, the King sent to visite him by one of his principall Mozes, by whome hee sent for a Present sixtene of our men, the which did escape out of the ship that Pedro de Tayde was Captaine of.

Certaine Portingales sent vnto the Captaine generall for a present.

Within two dayes after this, hee departed toward the Indias, and so came to Anfadina, where hee founde two Gentlemen, the one called Antonyo de Saldanua, and the other Ruy Lorenzo, which were Captaines of two shippes, and were in great feare, supposing that our flæt had bene of the Rumes. When Antonyo de Saldanua, informed largelye the Captaine generall how he departed the last yeare from Portingale for Vice admirall, with Ruy Lorenzo, being giuen him in commission to go & discover the red Sea with the Countreyes adiacent. And how that in doubling the Cape, they were verve sorely troubled with a storme, which was the onely cause of the separating the one of them from the companie of the other. But Ruy Lorenzo as he kept his course after their seperation, met by chaunce in the waye to Sofala, with a certaine ship of the Mozes being laden with much golde, the which hee toke: & afterward that he had taken the spoyle of the same, hee lette the Hull in keeping at Mylynde. Antonyo de Saldanua went to Quardafum, where he toke many great and exceeding rich prizes, without entering at all into the Straights: and from thence he went into the Indias.

And for that he came not to Anfadina befoze it was the winter, he was therefore driven to farry there with Ruy Lorenzo, who hauing passed many dangers, came after ward

Ar.ij.

thether

thether, where hee past great troubles, for lacke of victuals.

¶ How the Captaine generall came to Cananor, and spake with the King: and how the Gouvernour of Calycut, would haue made peace with him, howbeit he would not consent thereunto. Chap. 76.



**T**he Captaine generall being here, came thether vnto him Lope Mendez de Vasconcelis, who had lost the companye of his Generall, with the foule weather past. And immediately after that he was come, the Captaine generall made him prest, for his departure towarde Cananor, where he arrived the first daye of September. There the Factor enformed him of the warres of Calycut, and how that he with his other fellows that remained in Cananor, had scene themselves oftentimes in daunger of death.

The Captaine generall goeth a land to visite the king of Cananor.

The state which the Captaine generall kept at his going to visite the king of Cananor.

The next daye after his comming thether, he would needs goe a lande to visite the king of Cananor. All the Captaines of the flete he carried in his company to attende vpon him with theyr Boates, the which were set forth with theyr flagges and Ordnance to the uttermost, and the men apparayled in the best apparayle that they had. And as for the Boate in the which the Captaine generall went, it was covered ouer and beset with Carpettes in the best manner, vpon the which stode his Chayze, the which was made of vnhorne Crimson Veluet, and at his feete there were set two very faire Cushions of the same. His Doublet was also made of Satten, being of sundrye coulours, the which was wrought Diamond wise.

And moreouer, his hose were made after the same sorte, and his Shooes were likewise made of blacke Veluet,

Veluet, which were all beset with Aglets of golde, and his Cap covered ouer with Buttons sutable to the same: his night gowne was made of blacke Veluet, after the French vse laced about, with lace of golde, his Dagger and Rapier which his page held, were hatted with pure golde, and his chaine came thre times about his necke, the links wherof were all enameled, and at the same he hadde hanging his Whistle of golde of the lyke worke. There went before him his two Lackyes, appareled as himself, and sixe trumpetters with their flagges of silke. He had also with him certeine wind instruments, vpon the which they went playing, which were carryed in a little Boate hard by him, and in the same was carried also a present for the king of Cananor, which the king of Portingale sent vnto him.

This present was sixe beds of fine holand, with two great pillowes and pillowbeeres to the same, all wrought with gold. Two Couertoys or Carpets of Crimson Veluet vnhorne, which on the uttermost side were all quilted ouer, and had vpon the same thre gards of cloth of golde, which in the middelt was a spanne in breadth, and in the other places of thre fingers. The bedstee was all quilted ouer, the which had Curteines of Crimson Satten, with fringe made of golde thred. As soone as the Captaine Generall did put of from his shippes, all the flete began to shote off. Afterwards the Trumpettes did sound, and the Drums play. After this was ended, then the Organs went, and neuer ceased, till they came to the water side, where ther were great multitudes of Mores and Gentiles, which came thither onely to see the Captaine Generall. Who as soone as he had disembarked himselfe, entered into a certeine house, the which the king had caused to be made for the same purpose hard by the water side, in the which the bedstead with the whole furniture appertaining was set vp, and hard by the same there was a place appointed for the captaine generall to sit down on. When the king of Cananor came, he brought before him thre Elephants armed, as though they shoulde fight, and after them there came a squadron of thre thousand

The present which the king of Portingale sent to the king of Cananor.

The king of Cananors brauery and state at his meeting with the captaine generall

paires, with their weapons, which was swordes, targets, and speares. Also there came another Squadron of two thousand bolwe men. Last of all came the king himselfe sitting in a chaire, the which was verie rich. When he was come to this Sarame, the ordinance of all the Fleet was shot off. The Captaine Generall thereby perceiuing the king to bee at hande, went forth as farre as the doore to receiue him. And after that they had embraced each other, he presented him with the bed, vnto the which the king did go immediately, and lay downe vpon the same. The Captaine Generall seeing that, sat downe in his place appointed, and there they conferred together for the space of two houres. In the meane while a graye hounde of the Captaine Generalls would haue set vpon one of the Elephants, and because hee was holden, he therefore barked and plunged in such sort, that there was none that could heare, by reason of the noise they made, neither yet there was anye able to holde him, which was the occasion the king and the Captaine Generall were so little time together. After this meeting, there came vnto the Captaine Generall a Moze from Calycut, with whom there was also in companie a Portingale boy, which brought a letter from such of our men as remained then captiues, from the time of Pedro Aluares Cabral being there, who told him by word of mouth, that the king of Calycut was so broken in minde with the warres that hee had with Edwarte Pacheco, that with pure heauinesse hee put himselfe into a Torcull, sequestering himselfe from all the world.

And that there were many Mozes Merchantes so earnestly bent to followe theyr trade, that they haue left Calicut, and are gone to dwell in other places, by reason whereof, there is in Calycut greate necessitie of victuals. And therefore that the king of Calycut, the Prince, the Aldermen, and all the dwellers of Calicut are desirous to make peace, and are determined to send vnto him about the same. And gaue our men license to write thereof to the Captaine Generall, the which they so did, not onely about

The Mozes for sake Calicut, & goe els vvhether to dryell

bout their request, but also to desire him to release them out of captiuitie.

The Captaine Generall seeing and perusing this Letter, would haue answered the same, but the Boy would not consent therevnto, saying that of force he must needs retorne with the Moze, for that they gaue him no further license, but to bring this Letter, vpon condition that if hee did not retorne, they would cutte off the heades of all those his fellowes that remayned for Captiues in Calycut. Wherefore the Captaine Generall sent them answer by word of mouth, that as touching his going to Coching, it would be shortly, where hee would come to an Anko as nere as hee coulde to Calycut, passing by the same; and then they might take an occasion to come theyr waye towards the Fleet, either swimming or in Boates.

This theyr going without yrons about the Citie, was the occasion that the Captaine Generall gaue them this councell, although hee knewe that they were kepte with a gard of paires, and also that they slept in the kings house. After all this, he departed towards Calycut, whether hee came on Saturdaye, the seauenth of September, and as soone as hee came to an Anko, there repayred vnto him the Boye, which brought him a letter to Cananor, and with him came a Moze Seruaunt to Cosebyquin, who brought the Captaine Generall a present from the Gouernours of the citie of Calicut, on whose behalfe they sayd, that if so hee hee would sende vnto Cosebyquin a safe conduct, that then hee would come and speake with him, and trade for a peace.

Wherevnto he answered, that he would not accepte theyr present, nor anye other thing, vntill such time the peace was concluded vpon: and as for Cosebyquin, he might come vnto him without anye feare, as a seruaunt of the king of Portingales. Also priuely hee sent our men word that they should indeuour as much as they could to runne away.

This

He vvould haue the to escape frō their keepers, & come swimming vnto him



## The Conquest

This aunswere being knowne to the gouernours, they sent immediatly cosebyquin with two captiue Portingales, to the Captaine Generall, beleuuing most certeinlye, that by this meanes they shuld prouoke vs to make the peace, which they sent to demaunde by the foresaide cosebyquin.

The two Italian runagates iustly requiured by the Captaine generall to be deliuered.

A craftye deuise of the Italians to haue the captiues closely kept for the assurance of themselves.

Praseng him also to farrie three or foure dayes, which they supposed would be the longest time that the king would tarry, for that they had sent to call him, and knowing verie well, that he would doe all that they would require him. But he gaue them for ful answere, that vntil such time they deliuered vnto him the two Italian runagates that wer in Calicut, he would not agree to any thing, which being deliuered, he would then doe what he thought good, but he sent them word nothing of y captiues, for that he thought that at anie time they might runne their waye. But as sone as the Italians had knowledge, that the Captaine generall did demaund them, they then surmised that if so be, the captiues went not with prons, they would runne awaye, and so gaue notice therof vnto the gouernours of the Citie, how that the Captaine Generall, if y he might haue them wold make peace, yea, and with such conditions as the king himselfe would require, for that they were men of a good estimation, so that the Captaine Generall would not forgo them for any price.

The Aldermen giuing credite vnto this, wared somewhat colde in speaking any further of peace, but kept the Captiues from thence forth, in such sort that they coulde not runne away. And so they remained vntill the comming of the Wizeroye Don Francisco de Almeda, & in the meane time some there were that did run awaye, and others that died of great infirmities.

Of the great destruction which the captaine generall made in Calicut, and how he came vnto Coching. chap. 77.

The

## of the East India.



THE Captaine Generall perceiuing that the gouernours did conclude nothing, and themselves were without hope to haue the captiues, he bent himselfe determinatly to reuenge himselfe with shooting off his ordinaunce both night and day at the Citie, during the which time, he spoiled the same wonderfully, and ouerthrew the kings house and part of their Pagodes, with many other of their houses. He slew also sundry men that came to the water side, wherevnto he laye somewhat nere with seuen of his small ships. Moreover he had lieng a long the shore all their boats, in the which were both men and ordinaunce. This being done, he departed toward Coching, wher he arriued on Saturday being the xiii. day of September. All this day he kept himselfe a bord, and thether came our men to visit him. On the next day, he disembarked himselfe hard by the castle in like order as he did at Cananor, where the king of Coching was tarrieng for him, and there receiued him with great pleasure. And after that he had embraced him, they went hand in hand to the hall, in the which there was a seate of estate, wherupon was set a chaire. And for that the king did sit lowe according to his order, y Captaine generall commaunded to place the chaire somewhat further off from the kings seate, in the which he sat downe also. But all those that were present were greatly offended with him, for that he did not sit vpon his chaire of estate by the king, to whome he deliuered a Letter from the king of Portingale, in the which were rendered vnto him greates thanks, for the fauour he had shewed vnto his subiectes, with many other gratulations. Vnto the which the king answered, that for all such matters he was fully satisfied with the good service that Edwarte Pacheco had done vnto him.

The next daye after, the Captaine Generall sent him a great sum of money, the which the king of Portingale did bestowe vpon him, for that he knew he was but poore.

So.

After

Embassadors are to keepe theyr estates for the honor of theyr Princes that sende them.

After all this, he commaunded Pedro de Mendosa, and Vasco Caruallo, to goe with theyr ships to keepe the coast of Calycut, that they might take all such ships of y<sup>e</sup> Mozes as were laden with Spices: and also he sent Alonso Lopes de la Coſta, and Peralonso de Aguyar, and Lyonel Cotinuo, and Ruy de Abren, to goe and receiue in theyr lading at Coulan, for that he knew ther was spice in abundance.

They met  
with spi-  
ces better  
cheap, &  
nerer had  
then at  
Grāgalor.

Moreouer he commaunded Tristim de la Silua, to goe to Grangalor, betwene the riuers, with foure boates armed, of purpose to fight there with certeine Paraos of Calycut, the which were there armed. So Tristim de la Silua shot at some of them, and also at certeine Payres, the which issued out from certeine pointes of the lande, and so without comming to Grangalor, he toke a ship laden with Pepper, with the which he returned to Coching, where hee did lade with the other Captaines, which was done very quietly: and there was such great store of spices, that there was none then needed.

How Edwarte Pacheco departed from Coulan vnto Coching: and how the Captaine Generall did set vppon Grangalor, and what he did there. Chap. 78.



Edwarte Pacheco being come from the coast of Coulan, as soone as he had sight of the Captaines, the which the Captaine generall had sent, and for that he shuld haue no more to doe after his arriuall at Coching, since there was come another Captaine Generall, did depart toward Coching the xiiij. of October, and keeping his course, had sight of a ship a farre off in the Sea, toward the which he made all that day, & part of the night, and this ship was driuen into Coulan; where hauing

hauing talke with the same, he did vnderstand that he was one of the confederates the which came from Coromandil. And immediatly after were seene other three shippes of Calycut, toward the which he made his course, and kept a long the coast with the winde of the shoare. In the morning he went into the Sea, and there he saue a Waile, the which fled away from him in such sort, y<sup>t</sup> til it was toward the euening he could not ouertake the same, but hard to the lande, with the which he fought a good while, for that it had many men that did defend themselves, but at the ende hee made them amaine. The shippe being yelded, our men did enter the same by Edwarte Pachecos commaundement, and there were brought a lande certeine of theyr men, the rest he commaunded to be kept prisoners and in yrons, a board his ship.

A ship of  
Calicut taken & carried away

And hauing knowledge that this was one of the three of Calicut, the which he went to seeke out, hee put in the same two of our men to keepe and carrie it with him. When hee was come right ouer against Comorin, there fell vppon him on a sodaine such a hurling Winde, that thereby hee was brought in great hazard to be cast away.

This being past, he came to an Anko within a league of the shoare, and there remained all that night, in the which there ranne away well nere thirtie Mozes, of the which were twelue taken againe with his Boate. After this, hee went by and downe, wauering in the winde, tarryng for the rest of the shippes, and seeing that they came not, nor yet heard no more newes of them, he carreyed the foresayde shippe with him to Coulan. After that hee had deliuered the ship to the Factor, with all such merchandise as he had, the which wer many and rich, he departed toward Coching, where after his comming the ships of the flete went to lading. And likewise the others being come that were a lading in other places, then the Captaine generall did enter in counsell, whether that they thought good that he should set vpon Grangalor, or not, forasmuch as it held on the king of Calycuts side, and was enemie to the king of Coching.

The king  
of Calicut  
is now  
come  
forth of  
Torcul &  
taketh  
gouverne-  
ment vpon  
him.

And now also the king of Calicut was come forth of the Torcul to Calicut, and had in the rivers his Captaine generall with foure score paraos, and fiftie shippes, and by lande had appointed Nabecadarin with a greate number of men.

And sozasmuch as it was spread abroad, that the Captaine Generall did depart towarde Portingale, the king of Calicut was minded to returne and renewe the warres. Now the Captaine generall being determined and aduised by all the Captaines to set vpon Grangalor, he departed one night with xv. boates, the which were armed with paueresses, and with five and twentie Paraos from Coching, replenished with Ordnance. Also with these there went a Caruell, so that in the whole there were welnigh a thousande of our men, with whom there went also as manye Payres of Coching. In the morning before it was daye, he came to Palypuerto, for he durst venture no further, for that the Boates went verie heauie laden with theyr furniture, by reason wherof they could not passe the shoells that were there.

At this place there came against him the Prince with eight hundred Payres, and after this sort, some there were of them that went by lande, and some by water. Thus they departed toward Grangalor, where the king of Calicuts Captaine generall was, in two new ships, the which were chained together full of Ordnance and men, and the most of them bolue men. And a stearne these shippes, and on both their sides were these paraos with many men also.

The Captaine Generall of the enimies had in his company two of his sonnes, which were accounted for to be very valyaunt Gentlemen. Our Fleet being come, the Ordnance beganne to goe off on both partes. Tristim de la Silva, Alonso de la costa, Vasco curuallo, Peralonso de Aguilary and Antonio de Saldania, which went in the Mangarde, didde close with the two ships, with the which they fought a while.

These

These ships being boarded, were immediately yielded, being first of all slaine, the Captaine generall and both his sonnes, the which fought very valyauntly, and also manye others, for that in this place was all the force of the Westaile. And as touching the Paraos that the other Captains did set vpon, there was but little to doe, sozomuch that as soone as they saw their ships boarded they fled their waye. Whereupon commaundement was given by the Captaine generall, that all our men should disimbarke themselves, of whom the first five Captains were they that gaue the first onset vpon Nabecadarin, who offered to resist, with certaine Payres which he had in his retinue: with whome our men did fight with so valyaunt a minde, that they made theyr enimies to runne awaye. When our men following the chase did set fire to certaine houses, beside all y<sup>e</sup> Towne which was dispoiled both by the Mores and Gentiles, the which did well know, that our men would come vpon the, as also did Nabecadarin and his men, which fled awaye along the water side. Edwarte Pacheco, and the Factour Diego Hernando Correa, with the other Captaines didde disimbarke themselves in another place, who immediately began to set a fire the Citie. The Captaine generall in the meane while remained along the water side to keepe his men from scattering. When the Christians that dwelt in this Citie, and that were hidden amongst the houses, when they saw the Towne all in a fire, came out from where they were hidden, crieng with a loude voyce, and requesting them not to kill them for that they were Christians. And some of them ther wer, y<sup>e</sup> went presently to the Captaine generall, to pray him that for Gods sake he woulde commaund the fire to be quenched, for that they shoulde els burne certaine Churches of our Ladie and of the Apostles which were in the Citie, as also their poore houses, y<sup>e</sup> which were mingled with the houses of the Gentiles and Mores. Then for their sakes, the Generall commaunded the fire immediately to be quenched, although that many of theyr houses were burnt, which for that they were made of timber,

The Cap-  
tain gene-  
rallo f the  
enimies  
and his  
two sons  
slaine.

The fire  
comman-  
ded to be  
quenched

Sl. iij.

ber,

for þ pore  
christians  
takes that  
dvele  
there

ber, did burne quickly. The fire being quenched, our men  
fel to ransaking of the houses of the Mozes, among whom  
there were many which before time had dwelt in Calicut.  
Moreover, the two shippes with their Paraos that were in  
the water were likewise burnt, besides other thre þ were  
a land. This conflict yet continuing, there came thether the  
Prince of Coching, who told the Captaine Generall, that  
Nambeadaryn was not far off with his power, who was  
determined to returne to the Citie, after that he was de-  
parted. When the Captaine procured license of the Cap-  
taine Generall that he would suffer them to goe seeke him  
out, & so they did. But as sone as the enemies had sight of  
them, they ran their way as fast as they could. The Cap-  
taine generall seeing this, did returne, & wold haue set vpon  
another Towne the which was not farre off, but for that  
the Prince of Coching requested him to the contrary, for  
that the one halfe of the same was his, and that it was im-  
possible to destroy the one halfe without the other: and al-  
so for that the King of Calycuts subiects were ready to sub-  
mit themselves vnto him, praying him to defend them.  
Then the Captaine generall entered into the Citie, & did  
ther make certain knights, and afterward returned to the  
foste, to the which the King of Coching came to visit  
him.

After a va-  
liant ex-  
ploit, the  
Captaine  
Generall  
maketh  
knights in  
recōpence  
of theyr  
vertue.

¶ How the King of Tanor sent for succour to the  
Captaine generall; which he sent him. Cap. 79.



After two or thre daies past that the Cap-  
taine generall was in the Castle, there  
came thether vnto him an Embassadour  
from þ King of Tanor, who is next neigh-  
bour to the King of Calicut, who spake  
vnto him in this order, on þ king his ma-  
jests behalfe, That whereas hereso he had bene a friend  
to the King of Calicut, and did alwaies aid him in all such  
wars as he had made against Edwarte pacheco, now since  
he

An embas-  
sador sent  
to the cap

he is come out of the Tozcoll, presuming on his great po-  
wer, and hauing encreased or rather doubled his pride, doth  
in recompence of his good seruice, make warres vpon him.  
And therefore hauing knowledge that the King of Calicut  
was minded to set forwarde and to succour the Citie of  
Grangalor, and that his Captaine generall was marching  
toward the same, he did assemble 4000. Payzes, which he  
placed in certaine straights, by the which þ king of Calicut  
shuld passe, & at his comming did set vpon his whole campe  
& ouerthrow the same, with the death of 2000. of his men,  
which was the cause þ he came not to succour the citie of  
Grangalor, but with this losse returned to Calicut. Where-  
fore hauing done this exploit, he remaineth in feare, leaſt  
he wil come and set vpon him. And therfore his request is,  
that the Captaine generall will succour him, since most hu-  
bly he doth demaund þ same: which if he will doe, he will  
promise him to be true subiect to þ king of portingale. To  
this Embassage þ General answered, þ he was wel con-  
sent to accept him for þ kings subiect, & to send Pedro Ra-  
phael with his Caruell, in þ which were an 100. men, the  
most whereof were Crossebowmen, & shot. It was a great  
chance, þ the same daye our men came to Tanor, thether  
came also þ king of Calicut by land with his whole camp,  
& gane to þ king of Tanor battell, in which throug þ ba-  
le of our men he was ouerthrowen, & many of his slaine.  
And for this succor þ the Generall sent thether, the king of  
Tanor remained subiect to þ king of Portingale. With this  
ouerthrow þ king of Calicut continued in great feare, & in  
lesse credit with þ Mozes, then he had with þ victories that  
Edwarte pacheco had gott against him, because those wars  
wer made with strangers, but this with þ king of Tanor,  
who is his neighbor. Which thing was þ cause, þ all such  
Mozes, as dwelt in Calicut & Grangalor conceived now so  
great a misliking to trade toward Meca, þ they determined  
to return to their contries: & for this cause, they laded xvii.  
great ships in pandarane, fortifying them to defend themselves  
from our men þ better, & to offend the, if they shuld come.  
Also

tain gene-  
rall from  
the king  
of Ta-  
nor, vvho  
made the  
Oration  
following

The king  
of Caly-  
cuts vvhol  
povver o-  
uerthrow-  
en at Ta-  
nor, by þ  
king ther-  
of, & the  
Portin-  
gales.

Also there were many Paraos and Tones, lyke wise a lading as fast as they could plye it.

How the Captaine generall fought in Pandarane with seuentene great ships of the Moores, and how he ouercame them and burned them.  
chap. 79.

**T**he Captaine generall perceiuing that of force he must needs returne, with all such ships as were laden, by counsaile of the Captaines, and for securitie of the King of Coching and of the Fort there, did therefore appoint and leaue in Coching a Captaine generall, with whom he left a ship and two Caruels, the one of Pedro Raphael, and the other of Diego Pieres. This Captaine was a Gentleman called Manuel telez de Vasconcelos, whom the Captaine generall did present to the King of Coching, who had a great deale more desire, that Edwarte Pacheco should haue remained, for his good seruice, and affection he bare him, as I haue sayd. Howbeit notwithstanding, he durst not demaund his farricng at the Captaine generalls hands, forsomuch as he was of a very ill condition. Edwarte Pacheco hauing knowledge of his going for Portingale, purposed first ere that he departed, to speake with the King of Coching, the which he so did. For whose departure the King remained very sorrowfull, requesting him to farric if so be it were possible in the Indias, and not to leaue him, for that as yet he did not think himselfe sure from the King of Calicut, and also he tolde him that he remembred that he had promised him sundry times not to goe away, untill such time he had made him King of Calicut, and since as yet he had not the possession of the same, he desired him not to leaue him. Edwarte pacheco answered him, that he left him now in a good time, hauing his Countrey verie quiet, forsomuch as the King of Calicut hath bene and now is abated so greatly of his

the effect of the wordes, which the King of Coching spake to Edwarte Pacheco at his departure.

The answer that Edwarte Pacheco gaue to the King of Coching

pride,

pride, that he needed not to stande in no feare of him anye more. For sufficient prooue whereof was, if none other thing, that now he sawe the Moores of Meca to go theyr way from Calicut as men desperate for the losse of their trade. Also that his going for Portingale was not but to returne, and then to serue him for a longer time, and more at his pleasure. With this aunswere the King was somewhat satisfied, and with the teares in his eyes desired him to pardon him, for that he did not giue him all that was his desire, in recompence of the seruice he had done for him, in consideration that he was so poore, as he did well knowe. Howbeit he intreated him, that of his Pepper which he had, he would take what he would.

The good will of a thankfull minde is much more worth the many gifts

But Edwarte Pacheco would haue nothing, saying, that he did trust in God, that when he returned to Coching, he should finde him very rich, & in his prosperitie, and then he would receiue reward of him. And with this he departed, the King with all his subiects remaining verie heauie for his departure. Moreover, the King wrote vnto the King of Portingale of all Edwarte Pacheco successes in the warres, and what he had done for him. After this the Captaine generall departed toward Cananor, the xxvi. of September, carrying in his companie those Captaines which shoulde remaine in the Indias. His good wil & intent was, to come to an Anko in the harbour of Panane, and there to visite the King of Tanor. But by reason of the ill weather they had, and their naughtie Pilots they could not reach y same, but were driuen to Calicut and Pandarane. And from thence he commaunded Pedro Raphael and Diego Pieres to go before the Flote, and to looke out, whether they could see any ships of the Moores. Being ariued at Pandarane, & bearing along the Coast with a small winde, there came vpon them x. Paraos of the xvii. ships that were ther a lading. Our men hauing sight of them, began forthwith to shote at them with their ordinaunce. The other Captayns being a Sea bold, and hearing the sound of the ordinaunce, did returne, and bare as close by the winde as they could.

Et.

Ant

The great  
provision  
of the  
Moore's a-  
gainst so  
few small  
boates.

And hauing sight of the ships of the Moores to be a ground, came to Cananor by the Captaine generalls commaundement, who immediately entered into counsaile, in y<sup>e</sup> which it was determined by the whole consent of his Captains, that they shuld fight with those Moores, and that they shuld goe in their boates, for that their ships could not come nere unto them, by reason they were within the Barre. And for that the enimies were many, that therefore they should do what they could to close with the ships, the which as some as they had done, they shuld set the same a fire. This being appointed, the Captaine general with all y<sup>e</sup> other Captains of the flecte, did imbarke themselves in their boates, the which were in all xv. in the which all the souldiers of the flecte did imbarke themselves, and that with a great courage for that they went to fight with their enimies. These Moores as I sayd, had their ships within the Barre, lying one close by another, with their steernes toward the land, and in the most part of them wer many souldiers, y<sup>e</sup> which were men of colour white. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes, and also they had much ordinaunce. And on the land, at the entering of the barre were placed two peeces of ordinaunce vpon a small bulwarke which they had made. Our men bearing nere to this barre, had sight of the Captaine generall, and how the Caruells were somewhat farre off the shore, and that they came not, for that y<sup>e</sup> wind was but small, and therefore were perforce giuen to returne backe for them, & to bring them by force of the oare within the Barre, for to succour their boates. The other Captaines (although they saw him returne) went forward by force of the oare, and at the entering of the Barre, the Wellets fell as though it had rayned amongst them. But for all this they entered, shooting of all their Ordinaunce. But as their enimies were farre more then they, so they arrowes were without number. And for that our men by reason they wer somewhat low vnder their ships, wer open without any defence, therefore did they receive great hurt, not onely by their ordinaunce, but also by their arrowes.

Here

Here as it appeared, was all the force of the battaile: and for all the stoutnesse that was shewed by the enimies, yet our men entred into the middes of all the multitude of the shot, by force of the oare, in such sort y<sup>e</sup> it appered as though the boats did flye, the men crying out S. Iames, S. Iames, & with y<sup>e</sup> they laid those ships aboard; y<sup>e</sup> first y<sup>e</sup> laid any ship aboard was Tristim de la Silua, as soon as he was within the bar. And as y<sup>e</sup> men of this ship were many, so they did shote such abundance of arrowes & threw so many stones, y<sup>e</sup> they made our men put off, who being off did immediately close with another, in y<sup>e</sup> which for that there wer not so many, they boarded the same in despite of the Moores for all their stoutnes, in y<sup>e</sup> which wer some of them slaine, & those that remained alieue leapt for feare into the water & swam away. About y<sup>e</sup> same time y<sup>e</sup> Tristim de la Silua had layde this ship a board, Alonso de la costa did the like unto another, which he took to be y<sup>e</sup> Admirall, of y<sup>e</sup> which a Turke was Captaine with all his company, which were manye. And at the boarding of this ship, were therswen such a multitude of stones and darts, that it was a wonder to see. It chaunced that before our men came to this ship, the enimies shooting at them with a peece, y<sup>e</sup> which was lying vpon the vpper decke, with y<sup>e</sup> recoyling it rent out a peece of the ship side, so y<sup>e</sup> ther was made so great a hole, & the enimies not regarding it, thought it more needfull to succor y<sup>e</sup> forepart of their ship. And when our boat came hard a board y<sup>e</sup> same side where this hole was, our men did enter by the same. The first that entered, was Alonso Lopes Maister, & another Aluoro Lopes, who was a seruant, & is now to be called Clarke in Santaren, with others. These altogether with those y<sup>e</sup> came after, so fought with their enimies, that in the same conflict there were many slaine, others hid themselves vnder the hatches, & also others leapt into y<sup>e</sup> water, at y<sup>e</sup> which time the most part of them were drowned, for that they wer laden with shirts of male. Immediately one Pero Alonso de Aguyar layde another ship a board, hauing in his company Lyonel Cotinuo, and

It had been better to have called vpon God to have succoured them in that extreme myte.

Et. ij.

also



The  
Mores for  
feare  
leap into  
the sea, &  
drowne  
themselves.

Here was  
a great  
slaughter  
of the Por-  
tingals in  
respect of  
other  
battailes  
fought.

also Edwarte Pacheco, Vasco Caruall, Antonyo de Sal-  
dano, and Ruy Lorenzo, who all behaued themselves very  
valyauntly. And as sone as they had taken this ship, they  
immediately set the same a fire, and it toke the same very  
furiously, so that thereby their enemies were so exceedingly  
afearde, that the most part of them leapt into the water and  
drowned themselves. While this was a doing, theether  
came the Captayne generall, with the Caruells, and being  
entered within the Barre, he leste them. Then one of the  
pæces that were on the lande was shot off with a pellet,  
which strake the Caruell of Pedro Raphael in such sort, &  
in such a place, that with the same were three of his men  
slaine and ten soze hurt, and soz lacke of winde, the floude  
carried him vnder the forecasse of a ship, of those that wer  
not as yet layd aboard, the which had many men. And soz  
that the shippe was higher then the Caruell, who had the  
same vnder his spizit saile, therefore the enemies did enter,  
and handeled our men very ill, soz that they altogether did  
set vpon them. Also there was another pæce shot, with the  
which the Master of the ship was slaine, being at the helme  
gouerning the Caruell, which being thus left at randon,  
before that there came any other to the helme, the Caruell  
fell vpon certaine Rockes, where she remained till the bat-  
taile was ended. The Captaine generall viewing the dan-  
ger that Pedro Raphael was in, commaunded him to bee  
succoured, and so it was done. When our men entering in-  
to the Caruell, the which was full of Mozes, they behaued  
themselves so valyauntly, that they made them flye awaye,  
but notwithstanding all our men that were within y Car-  
uell were soze hurt. In the meane space, all the ships of the  
enemies were burnt, and also at the last, in the which  
was burnt great store of Merchandise, soz that the same  
was laden. Which was done the rather, soz that vpon the  
land there were many of the enemies which wer assembled  
together. And soz that of our men there were many hurt,  
the Captain generall came his way with all his Captains  
toward their ships, where he found that there were slaine  
of

of our men xxv. and hurt an hundred and xxvii. men. But  
soz all this the victorie was great. For ouer and besides  
the burning of the shippes with all their riches, the which  
was much, the Captaine generall was giuen to vnderstand  
by the Mozes of Cananor, (to the which place from thence  
he went) that ther were slaine in this battell two thousand  
men. With this spoyle the king of Calicut remained so ill  
contented, that fro that time soz a good while after, he could  
not restoze himself, soz that his losse was great, besides that  
the Mozes went from Calicut, by reason whercof there  
was so great necessitie & lacke of victuals there, that the ci-  
tie remained almost vninhabited.

Of the safe arriual of the Captaine Generall at Lish-  
borne, and of the great honour the king Don Ma-  
nuel gaue to Edwarte Pacheco. chap. 80.



The next day after, the which was the first  
day of Januarie, the Captaine Generall de-  
parted toward Cananor, soz that there he  
went to take in the rest of his lading. And  
being there arriued, the Factor gaue him to  
vnderstand of the great victorie that he had  
gotten in Pandarane, and how the Mozes were very pen-  
sive soz the same, suspecting that from thence sozth all our  
men might remaine in the Indias, and that without feare.  
For as their pride was before this victorie great, so they  
pretence was alwayes thought to be, to kill both the Fac-  
tor, and all those that remained with him. The like tale also  
did the king of Cananor alwayes tell. The Captaine Ge-  
nerall being reable to departe, before his going he  
made an Oracion vnto Manuel Telez, and those that re-  
mained with him touching that which they should doe, lat-  
eng before them the great secuite that Edwarte Pacheco  
had done, and therefore he woulde giue him no greater a  
flate then Francisco de Alburquerque leste, and an hun-  
dred fighting men in it. But after that he was departed,

Et.iii.

there

The num-  
ber of  
ships and  
men,  
which  
were left  
in the In-  
dias with  
Manuel  
Telez the  
Captain  
generall

there were in the Indias no more warres, for that the king of Calycut remained as in case aforesaid. The Captaine generall being departed from Cananor toward Portingale, he arrived at Mylinde the first day of September, where without comming a land, he sent Antonio de Saldanua to y<sup>e</sup> cistie, for many rich prizes which he had left there, & had taken before at the Cape Quardatum, where he went toward the Indias. And from thence he directed his course toward Quiloa, to recover ther y<sup>e</sup> kings tribute which y<sup>e</sup> king wold not pay. From thence he departed the tenth day of Februarye, without chauncing vnto him any thing worth the writing, arrived at Lishborne the 22. day of June. 1525. with two ships more then he carried out with him, when he went toward the Indias. All these were laden with great store of riches, for the which the king Don Manuel gaue him great honour, and the like he did to Edwarte Pacheco, after y<sup>e</sup> he understood what good seruice he had done him in the Indias, & how by his meanes the factorye was there mainteined, & also the credit of his power. And for that all men shuld haue knowledge of so notable seruice, immediatly vpon Thursday next after the Captaine generals arriual, was commaunded to be made a solenipne Procession, as they vse on Corpus Christi day, in the which he went from y<sup>e</sup> high church, vnto Santo Domingus, carieng with him Edwarte Pacheco. In this Church there was a Sermon, made by the Bishop of Vizew called Don Diego Ortis, who brought in by order, all that Edwarte pacheco had done in the warres against the king of Calycut. This feast was not onely kept in Lishborne, but also in Algaruy, & in all the cities & notable towne of portingale, which was so done by the kings commaundement. Moreover, he wrote of the same vnto the Pope, by Don Ioan Sutill, which was then Bishop of satin, who had the carriage of those letters. Besides y<sup>e</sup>, he sent the same to many christian Princes, y<sup>e</sup> they might know of those notable acts & victories, being such a thing, as within these our dayes no prince hath done y<sup>e</sup> like for his subjects.

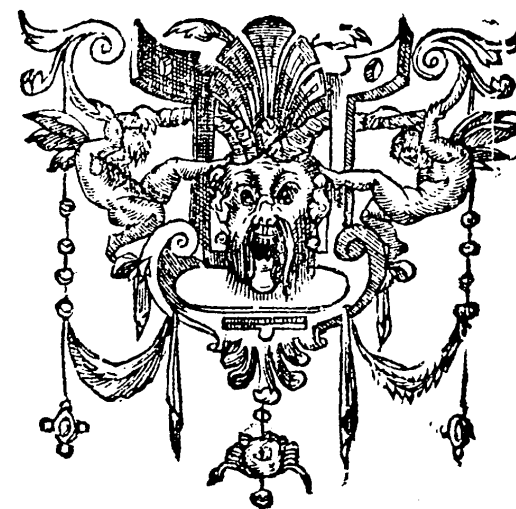
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Indeede  
this Ed-  
warte Pa-  
checo vvel  
deserued  
great ho-  
nor & co-  
mendatio  
for his  
seruice